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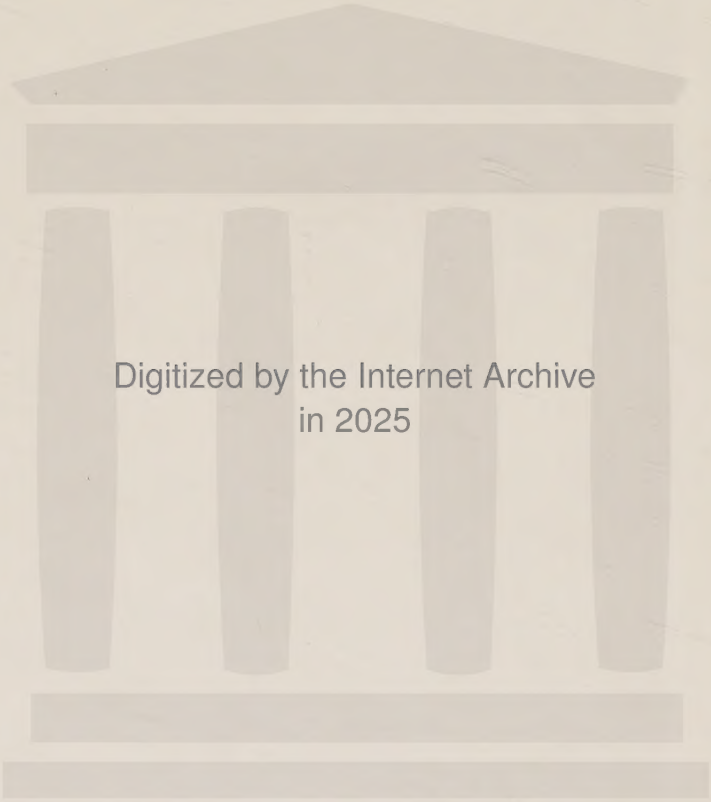

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The Stylistic Influence of the Second Sophistic On the Panegyrical Sermons of St. John Chrysostom

A STUDY IN GREEK RHETORIC

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty of Letters of the Catholic University of America in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the influence of the Second Sophistic Rhetoric on St. John Chrysostom by studying in his sermons the chief figures of speech employed by the sophist rhetors, as well as the sophistic ecphrasis. From the vast bulk of Chrysostom's sermons, about 450 in number, we have selected the *Sermones Panegyrici seu in Solemnitates* as most likely to show the sophistic influence. The epideictic discourse was in fact the most favored by the rhetors, and allowed the fullest display of rhetorical resources. The panegyrical sermons comprise some of the most celebrated sermons of Chrysostom, *viz.,* the seven *Panegyrics on St. Paul* and the *Festal Discourses.* We have not, however, entirely neglected the other sermons, and have included in our study the first four *Homilies on the Statues,* the two *On Eutropius,* two *On His Return from Exile,* and one *Against the Games and Theatres.*

An examination of the tendencies of profane rhetoric in the sermons of the greatest orator of the Eastern Church will, we hope, be a welcome contribution to one of the most interesting problems of today, the literary relations between Hellenism and Christianity. In regard to this question our study aims to continue the investigations made by L. Méridier in his work: *L'Influence de la seconde sophistique sur l'oeuvre de Grégoire de Nysse,* as well as by M. Guignet: *St. Gregoire de Nazianze et la Rhétorique.* We have followed substantially the plan of these scholars, and have been guided by their methods in the handling of our subject. We have, however, confined our study to the strictly rhetorical influences as they appear in the tropes, figures of speech, and the ecphrasis of the above mentioned sermons, while their works embrace not only the study of the tropes and figures, but also the composition and the dialectics of the sermons and other writings of Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory Nazianzen.

We have not attempted to trace in Chrysostom any close correspondences between his style and that of any particular sophist, *e.g.,* Libanius. Both Méridier[1] and Guignet[2] have pointed out the futility of such a plan. Our endeavor has been rather to find

[1] Avant-propos, VI.
[2] Ch. III, 72.

in Chrysostom the characteristics of the second sophistic in general. These characteristics are very thoroughly treated by Méridier in the above-mentioned work.[3]

The subject of this dissertation was suggested by a reading of E. Norden's work, *Die Antike Kunstprosa,* II, 569 ff., where he briefly indicates the difference between Gregory Nazianzen's style and that of Basil and Chrysostom: "Lange wohldisponierte Sätze statt der kurzen zerhackten, und im allgemeinen sehr sparsame Verwendung der Redefiguren, nach denen man bei ihnen suchen muss, während sie sich bei Gregor überall aufdrängen." Our eagerness to search after these evidences of the influence of profane rhetoric in Chrysostom was increased, when we learned that E. Norden was not alone in minimizing this influence. Thus L. Ackermann[4] makes the strange assertion that Chrysostom wrote in the style of St. Paul, and that he was free from the bad taste and the mannerisms of the sophists. Wilamowitz[5] states that there is no trace of the jingle of rhymes and cadences in Chrysostom's larger orations. O. Bardenhewer[6] restricts the sophistic influence in Chrysostom to some individual sermons of his earlier period. If these statements were correct, we argued, then the sermons of Chrysostom presented a psychological phenomenon that was indeed remarkable. It seemed strange to us that Chrysostom should be detached to such an extent from the rhetoric in which he was trained from early youth, and which, prior to his ordination, claimed him as one of its ablest exponents. These considerations made us still more eager to take up this subject, and to determine in what measure these statements were justified.

We have not included in our investigation the study of rhythmical clausulae in Chrysostom, because the question of prose rhythm is still a much-mooted one, and allows much room for subjective theorizing. Moreover, this subject is in itself large enough for a special monograph.

The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness and to express his sincere gratitude to Dr. Roy Joseph Deferrari, Head of the Greek and Latin Departments at the Catholic University of America, under whose helpful and stimulating direction this monograph has been written.

[3] Ch. III, La Seconde Sophistique.
[4] *Die Beredsamkeit des hl. Johannes Chrysostomus,* 99.
[5] *Kultur der Gegenwart,* Teil I, Abt. VIII, 214.
[6] *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur,* Bd. III, 353.

CHAPTER I

THE NEW OR SECOND SOPHISTIC

We shall not attempt here anything like a complete sketch of the interesting period in Greek literature known as the New or Second Sophistic. We shall be content to point out only its general character and the rhetorical devices that shaped its style.[1] The term signifies that renaissance of Greek Rhetoric which dominated Greek literature from the close of the first to the end of the fourth century A. D. The movement had its rise in the rhetorical schools of Asia Minor, and in the reign of Hadrian it entered Athens. Its purpose was to bring about a revival of Greek oratory by a close imitation of the Attic masters of expression, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Thucydides, Herodotus, Xenophon, and Plato.[2] But many sophists preferred the mannerisms of Gorgias and Hippias; for the pompous, ornate diction of the latter was better suited to their own style than the sober, practical manner of the great orators and historians. For the same reason they probably copied the Asiatic orators; at least we find in many of the sophists the same faults which critics censure in Hegesias and the Asiatic school, *viz.*, short, mincing cola, an excessive use of tropes and figures, and an effeminate rhythm closely approaching the metre of poetry. Unfortunately these rhetors of the New Sophistic were reckoned as peers of the ancient masters or even as superior to them, and so came to be imitated as classics, whereas their works were at best only poor copies of the great originals.[3]

As a consequence of the revival of oratory the study of rhetoric was regarded as the most essential element of higher education. All the great sophists were likewise teachers of rhetoric. The youth of the better families all passed through their schools. They stood high in the public estimation. They were

[1] For a full account of the Second Sophistic see E. Rohde, *Die griechische Sophistik der Kaiserzeit,* in *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer,* 310 ff.; also W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern;* E. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa;* E. Hatch, *The Influence of Greek ideas and usages upon the Christian Church,* 86-115; L. Méridier, *La Seconde Sophistique, in L'Influence de la seconde sophistique sur l'oeuvre de Grégoire de Nysse,* 7-47.

[2] W. v. Christ, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte,* Band VII, 2, 2, 511.

[3] Rohde, 350.

regarded as leaders and spokesmen of their respective communities; they discharged the highest municipal offices; they served as legates to the emperors and were honored with statues and laudatory decrees.[4] Occasionally they pleaded private causes in the law-courts, but this they regarded as a menial avocation and as beneath the dignity of an artist.

What they claimed as their peculiar province was the oratory of pomp and show, the so-called epideictic speeches, in which art was displayed for art's sake. These, like all the literary products of the Sophistic, were composed primarily with a view to public declamation. In speeches decked out with all the embellishments of rhetoric the sophist championed the interests of his province or city before the imperial magistrates. At the national games of Olympia and the other great contests panegyrical speeches formed an essential part of the program. At the solemn feasts of the gods the sophist was selected to voice the devout enthusiasm of his fellow-citizens.[5] The themes of the ordinary discourses were of a manifold character. Sometimes the sophist would deliver a well-prepared speech on a subject of forensic or deliberative oratory, but preferably on a theme taken from mythology or history. Not infrequently he would marshal all the resources of his wit and ingenuity in the laudatory exposition of some lowly theme, such as the ancient sophists were wont to treat.

However, the supreme test of an accomplished sophist consisted in discoursing without previous preparation on any subject selected by his audience. It was part of his art to force the choice of a subject, or so to develop it that he might bring in something which he had already prepared. "When your audience has chosen a subject for you," says Lucian,[6] in his satirical advice to rhetoricians, "go straight at it and say without hesitation whatever words come to your tongue, never minding about the first point coming first and the second second: the great thing is to go right on and not have any pauses. If you have to talk at Athens about adultery, bring in the customs of the Hindoos and Persians: above all, have passages about Marathon and Cynaegirus—that is indispensable. And Athos must always be turned into sea, and the Hellespont into dry land, and the sun must be darkened by the clouds of Median arrows . . . . and Salamis and Artemisium and Plataea, and so forth, must come in pretty frequently; and, above

[4] Rohde, 315 ff.
[5] Rohde, 326 ff.
[6] *The Teacher of Rhetoric*, 18.

all, those little Attic words I told you about must blossom on the surface of your speech—ἄττα and δήπουθεν—must be sprinkled about freely, whether they are wanted or not: for they are pretty words, even when they do not mean anything." [7]

The skilled rhetor declaimed his well-balanced periods with a kind of musical cadence of the voice, which varied in pitch according to the sentiment of the passage. Sometimes he lapsed into a monotonous singsong, an abuse prevalent among the Asiatic orators. Ancient critics compare this musical delivery to the song of the nightingale or the music of the citharist. In point of facial expression and gestures some sophists exceeded all measure. Occasionally, like actors on the stage, they impersonated diverse characters, such as a murderer, a farmer, or a beggar.[8]

The occasion on which the sophist made his appearance before the public was indeed one of triumph and glory for him, bringing a rich reward for all his labors. The entire population, from the mechanic to the highest official, thronged to these performances as to a dramatic spectacle. The audience was as a rule very appreciative and signified its approval by clapping, by loud cheers and cries of: "Bravo!" "Inspired!" "Wonderful!" [9] This practice of loud applause prevailed even in the Christian churches of this period, as we shall see from Chrysostom's sermons. The sophist felt it very keenly if the audience showed itself indifferent or slow to applaud.

One of the chief defects of the New Sophistic was its unreality. The sophists chose their subjects not from the living present, but from the dead past; for they considered themes taken from the life of the times as trivial and commonplace. But whenever they deigned to treat such a topic, they did it in an idealistic fashion, surrounding it with the glamour of antiquity. Their favorite field was ancient history and mythology. The sophist had no real, personal, vital interest in his subject. It appealed to him solely in as far as it lent itself to rhetorical embellishment, and in this respect he gave full rein to his fancy, not caring for any deeper investigation of the nature and essence of things. This enabled him to speak with an annoying facility on any topic, and he could "make small things seem great and great things small." The first essentials of true oratory were lacking—grandeur or importance of subject-matter, sincerity of disposition

[7] Tr. by E. Hatch, 95.
[8] Rohde, 336 ff.
[9] E Hatch, 96.

in the orator, and genuineness of feeling. The ancient Greek orators discoursed on issues of public and personal interest. They identified these issues with their own and put their heart and soul into them. The sophist selected fanciful themes with the sole purpose of entertaining or amusing his hearers with a pyrotechnical display of rhetorical skill, wit, and ingenuity.[10]

The rhetorical style of the sophists shows this same tendency, a constant straining after effect by a display of tropes and figures.[11] Hermogenes, defining false δεινότης, informs us that it is proper to the sophists (περὶ ἰδεῶν, 395). Among the figures which they employed to obtain this false δεινότης, he mentions the so-called σχήματα κεκαλλωπισμένα (*ib.*, 332 ff.). These are the *parison,* the *epanaphora,* the *antistrophe,* the κλῖμαξ, the *polyptoton,* and the *hyperbaton.*[12]

Of these figures the chief ones are the *epanaphora* and the *parison.* The *epanaphora* is one of the most ordinary figures of the sophists' style. They employ it with cola of moderate length to produce a sort of musical refrain and with short κόμματα with a view to nervous energy. Most often it is combined with asyndeton, which makes it more emphatic. The epanaphora occurs frequently in the two declamations of Polemo. The same is true of the orations of Libanius, *e.g.,* in *Or.* XLVII, 412, 17 (Foerster): τοιοῦτοι . . . . τοιαῦται . . . . is repeated seven times. In Himerius' *Ecl.* II, 46, 6: ἕως . . . . is repeated four times.

A very important group of figures are the Gorgianic Figures, the *parison,* the *antithesis,* and the *homoioteleuton.* They are par excellence the figures of artistic Greek prose, producing symmetry, parallelism, and musical cadence, which are among its greatest beauties. Their invention was attributed by the ancients to Gorgias. Be that as it may, it is certain that the abuse of these figures was one of the most glaring faults of his style. The sophists as a rule copied this bad example. We shall quote examples of the parison, antithesis, and homoioteleuton from some of the leading sophists.

The *parison* presents two or more successive cola having the same general structure, often with an exact correspondence between the respective parts of the cola. Libanius, who employs this figure oftener than any other, has the following: *Or.* XIX, 412, 61:

[10] Rohde, 347 ff.
[11] On this subject cf. Méridier, 20-47.
[12] All of these, except the parison, are treated in chapter III, p. 29.

καταλέλυνται μὲν αἱ περὶ τοὺς λόγους διατριβαί,
καταλέλυνται δὲ αἱ περὶ τὰ γράμματα διδασκαλίαι . . . .
νοσούντων μὲν ἡ χρόα,
οὐκ ἐρρωμένων δὲ ἡ φωνή,
πεπλανημένων δὲ ἡ γνώμη . . . .

Himerius, in *Ecl.* II, 50, 11:

Ἀπέστημεν ἑτέροις τῆς ἡγεμονίας, οὐκ ἀντεῖπες·
παρεχωρήσαμεν τοῦ πατρίου σχήματος, οὐκ ἠγανάκτησας.

Themistius, *Or.* I, 11 d.:

ἄδικος μὲν τῆς σπουδῆς,
ἠλίθιος δὲ τῆς γνώμης,
ἀνόητος δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος.

When the two cola of a parison express a contrast of ideas, we have the most artistic form of the parison—the *antithesis.* The sophists had a high regard for this figure and used it lavishly. The two declamations of Polemo teem with antitheses,[13] in which Cynaegirus is contrasted with Callimachus. The *Corinthiacus* of Favorinus likewise abounds in antitheses, *e.g.,* 15, 18:

σοφὸς μὲν ἦν μετ' ὀλίγων,
τύραννος δὲ μετὰ πολλῶν.

18, 22:

τεθῆναι μὲν ὡς ἄριστος,
ἐκπεσεῖν δ' ὡς πονηρότατον.

Libanius is prodigal in his use of the same figure, *e.g., Or.* XVIII, 370, 308:

ὃ μικρὸν μὲν τῆς γῆς μέρος κατέχων διὰ τοῦ τάφου,
πᾶσαν δὲ τῷ θαύματι τὴν οἰκουμένην,
ὃ νενικηκὼς μάχαις μὲν τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους,
ἀμαχεὶ δὲ τοὺς ὁμοφύλους.

Note how the symmetry of the last two cola is enhanced by the double paronomasia.

The symmetry of cola reaches its highest perfection when the parison is combined with the *homoioteleuton,* which is produced by the recurrence of the same final syllables at the end of successive cola. This musical and poetical element of style holds an important place in sophistic literature. It was one of the chief means employed by the sophists to give a poetical character to their prose. We cite a few instances from Dion Chrysostom and Libanius:

[13] Schmid, I, 63.

Dion Chrysostom, *Or.* 75, 204:

ὁ τὰς πανηγύρεις συνάγων,
ὁ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμῶν,
ὁ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὔξων.

Id., Or. III, 55, 15:

ἢ στρατιὰν ἐξέταξεν
ἢ χώραν ἠμέρωσεν,
ἢ πόλιν ᾤκισεν,
ἢ ποταμοὺς ἔζευξεν,
ἢ γῆν ὁδεύτην ἐποίησεν.

Libanius, *Or.* XIX, 385, 1:

καὶ λόγῳ χρησομένην
καὶ ἔργῳ δεησομένην.

Ib. 387, 5:

τούς τε παιδεύεσθαι βουλομένους
τούς τε παιδεύειν δυναμένους.

Among the figures of which the sophists were very fond we must mention *paronomasia* and *alliteration*. Paronomasia is a play on words which are similar in sound but dissimilar in sense. Its various forms may be grouped under two heads,

1) Words having the same root:

a) With changes and additions of prefixes:

Dion Chrysostom, I, 228, 2: ἀντίτεχνοι καὶ ὁμότεχνοι; Aristides, VII, 75, 78: προγόνων τε καὶ ἐκγόνων.

b) With changes of case, voice, mood, tense, etc.:

Lucian, *Conv.* 432: παίων καὶ παιόμενος; *id., Bis. acc.* 815:

ἐλευθέρους ἐλευθέρως φιλοσοφεῖν.

2) Words having different roots:

Polemo, *Declam. B*, 20, 15: σῶμα . . . . σῆμα . . . .; *id.*, 19, 10: φόνον καὶ φόβον; Dion Chrysostom, I, 189, 32: λοιμός τε καὶ λιμός (Thucydides, II, 54, 2); Aristides, III, 30, 33: ἀνήχθω . . . . ἀνήφθω.

Alliteration signifies the recurrence of the same initial letter or letters in words generally succeeding immediately, *e.g.*: Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* 39, 20: διαφαίνονται τοῦ λόγου καὶ λαμπρότητες λήγουσαι; Achilles Tatius, VII, 11, 7: ὁ τῶν ληστῶν λόχος λανθάνων.

In his treatise περὶ ἰδεῶν (292, 19 ff.) Hermogenes also remarks that the immoderate use of tropes was one of the faults of the ὑπόξυλοι σοφισταί (pseudo-sophists). A careful reading of the sophists will show that they all more or less merit this term of reproach. Among the tropes the *metaphor* takes first rank. It

signifies the transfer of a word from its literal to a figurative sense.

The two declamations of Polemo are remarkable for an abundance of metaphors of bad taste.[14] For instance, the hands of Cynaegirus, which had been cut off in the battle of Marathon, are styled (13, 36): "The divine torches that bore the light of liberty." The same criticism applies to Aristides, with this difference, that his lack of originality betrays itself in his dry repetition of the traditional metaphors of the schools.[15] The discourses of Himerius show an abundance of metaphors which are, as a rule, very artificial and of a labored ingenuity. In contrast with these sophists, Themistius and Libanius are less bold in their metaphors. The criticism which Schmid makes of Aristides applies also to them, *viz.*, their images are trite. Libanius borrows them preferably from the athletic games. Thus, in *Or.* XVIII, 360, 283, he calls the deceased emperor Julian "an athlete who was on the point of receiving the crown."

The *comparison* bears a close relation to the metaphor. In the metaphor the resemblance between two objects is implied; in the comparison it is formally stated. This sparkling ornament of style appealed strongly to the taste of the sophists. Schmid has counted 397 instances of the comparison in the 80 orations of Dion Chrysostom.[16] They are in general taken from everyday life, preferably from medicine. The same critic has noted in the two declamations of Polemo twelve comparisons which are remarkable for their bad taste.[17] Here is one that is particularly bold and extravagant—Callimachus is represented as defying the whole army of the Persians: "Though blows and arrows shower down upon me thick and fast, yet I speak as if I were being crowned with flowers."[18] The comparisons of Aristides, like his metaphors, lack originality.[19] The comparisons of Himerius are as numerous as his metaphors and exhibit a tendency to prettiness and subtlety. They are generally a pretext for the introduction of brilliant and prolonged images, giving to his writings the poetical color at which he aims. They are drawn mostly from the beauties of nature and from works of art. In *Or.* XII, 584, par. 2 and 3, he compares the orator successively to an artisan, a

[14] Schmid, I, 61.
[15] Schmid, II, 263.
[16] *Atticismus* I, 169.
[17] *Ib.* I, 61 ff.
[18] *Declam.* B, 35, 15.
[19] Schmid, II, 263.

painter, a sculptor, a flute-player, and a pilot. This last image was a great favorite with the sophists. While the comparisons of Himerius reflect the taste and the pretensions of an artist, those of Themistius are chiefly of a philosophical nature. He is fond of representing himself as a physician. Other comparisons are borrowed from the athletic games, the chariot-races, and navigation.

The comparisons of Libanius are of the conventional kind. In his monody on Julian [20] he takes one from the palaestra, another one from medicine.[21]

The *hyperbole* is another trope much in vogue with the sophists. It consists in magnifying an object beyond its just proportions. The sophist orators often employed it to give to topics which were trivial or commonplace an air of grandeur and importance. Hermogenes, who otherwise is a critic of good judgment, does not scruple to affirm that one may at times employ a grand style in setting forth subjects in themselves simple and of small account.[22] Acting on this principle the sophists violated all the canons of good taste. Polemo is one of the worst offenders in this respect. His two declamations contain a considerable number of gross exaggerations, *e. g.,* he states that "Callimachus withstood a shower of missiles of every kind, until he had exhausted all the arrows of Asia and fatigued the grand army of the king," [23] and again "that Cynaegirus proved that the Athenians alone of all men were endowed with immortal hands." [24] The glorious struggles of the Persian wars were a fruitful theme of extravagant hyperboles. Thus Aristides in his *Panathenaicus* [25] assures us "that the rivers of blood would have sufficed to keep the ships afloat." In like manner Himerius, commenting on the vast number of Persian troops,[26] states "that no stream would have sufficed to quench their thirst." His monody on his son Rufinus is a long series of hyperboles exhibiting the false pathos so characteristic of the sophists. In *Or.* XXIII, 772, 4, he apostrophizes his son thus: "Thy first accents were those of a chief of the people; thy cries yet indistinct held in suspense the whole world. Thou wast an orator in thy swaddling-clothes."

The *oxymoron,* or *paradox,* is another trope which was dear to the sophists. It denotes the combination of two terms appar-

[20] *Or.* XVII, 218, 31.
[21] *Ib.* 221, 36.
[22] περὶ ἰδεῶν, 396, 5.
[23] *Declam.* B, 19, 21.
[24] *Ib.* A, 12, 9.
[25] *Or.* XIII, 203.
[26] *Or.* II, 408, 24.

ently contradictory, but which, viewed in the light of the context, are not incompatible. The oxymoron was well suited to the description of paradoxical and unusual situations in which the sophists loved to revel. The declamations of Polemo furnish several examples of traditional oxymora; *e. g.,* he says of Cynaegirus, who from the shore attacked a Persian vessel: *ἐναυμάχησεν ἐκ γῆς.*[27] In his second declamation (18, 1) he describes the corpse of Callimachus, which remained in a standing posture though covered with wounds and pierced with countless arrows, as: *νεκρὸν θανάτου κρείττονα,* and he reverts to the same subject later (32, 14) saying: *νῦν πρῶτον ἀθάνατος ὤφθη νεκρός.* Schmid[28] has noted 44 instances of the oxymoron in Aristides and calls special attention to one which, like Polemo's *ἐναυμάχησεν ἐκ γῆς,* is borrowed from the *Panegiricus* of Isocrates, 89: XIII, 259, 276: *ναυμαχίας τε ἀπὸ γῆς . . . . ἐν τῇ νήσῳ γενομένας.*

The *ecphrasis,* though neither a trope nor a figure, deserves a place here, because it plays a prominent role in sophistic literature. It is a graphic and vivid description, minutely detailed, in which the sophists sought to rival the glowing descriptions of the poets. It afforded them a fine opportunity for the display of the most delicate arts of expression. With this object in view they freely borrowed poetical words as well as poetical themes.[29] The ecphrasis is found more frequently in the Asiatic sophists who copied the poets than in the Atticising rhetors who emulated the classic orators. It is rare in Themistius and is restricted to the function of a *τόπος* in the monodies or of a rhetorical exercise in the progymnasmata of Libanius. But Himerius, who interlards his compositions with reminiscences from Alcaeus, Sappho, and Anacreon, is very lavish in its employment.

Such are in brief the broad features and tendencies as well as the stylistic peculiarities of the Second Sophistic. The rhetorical devices which modify its style are not new nor are they restricted to the sophist orators; it is rather in their abuse that the sophistic manner reveals itself. The most striking feature of this rhetoric is its artificiality. Art was displayed for art's sake, instead of serving as a vehicle of ideas. It will be interesting to see in what measure this type of eloquence has influenced the rhetorical style of St. John Chrysostom.

[27] *Declam.* A, 5, 23.
[28] *Atticismus,* 281 ff.
[29] On the favorite themes of the ecphrasis see p. 86.

CHAPTER II

CHRYSOSTOM'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS SOPHISTIC RHETORIC

Before we examine the actual traces of rhetorical influence in the sermons of Chrysostom, it is pertinent to inquire into his theoretical attitude toward pagan culture and literature in general. Strangely enough, this question, which has a vital bearing on one of the most interesting problems of history, the relation of Hellenism to Christianity, has been sadly neglected until recent years. Without making any deeper investigations in the vast bulk of his sermons, historians and literary critics from E. Gibbon down to E. Norden have reiterated the charge that this prince of Christian orators was either profoundly indifferent or irreconcilably hostile to pagan culture and literature. The former[1] attributes to him the faculty "of prudently hiding the advantages which he owed to rhetoric and philosophy."

The scholar who first exposed the falsity of this traditional view was A. Naegele.[2] He rendered an invaluable service to scholarship by proving conclusively from Chrysostom's own statements that he deserves a place beside Origen, Basil, Augustine, and others who advocated a compromise between Hellenism and Christianity.

For all practical purposes such a compromise was an established fact by the middle of the fourth century. The Christian Fathers of this period were all thoroughly imbued with classic culture and gave evidence of it in their writings. Theoretically, however, opinions were divided as to whether or not Christian thought should be set forth in the polished language of the pagan classics.[3] Some of the Fathers, like Augustine[4] and Gregory Nazianzen, wavered in their attitude.[5] Some of Gregory's bitter invectives against pagan writers and rhetors give the impression that he is altogether hostile to profane literature, while other of

[1] *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* ed. by W. Smith, N. Y., III, 468.

[2] *Johannes Chrysostomos und sein Verhältnis zum Hellenismus, Byzant. Zeitschrift* XIII (1904), 73-113.

[3] Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* II, 529.

[4] *Ib.* 517.

[5] Guignet, *St. Grégoire de Nazianze et la Rhétorique,* 44 ff.

his statements show him in favor of enlisting its formal beauty in the exposition of Christian doctrine.

Now, Chrysostom's attitude is similar. In the heat of battle he sometimes allows his zeal to carry him too far, to censure not only the errors and vices of paganism, but profane writers and literature in general. This has led critics like Norden to pronounce him "the most bitter foe of paganism in the fourth century."[6] A deeper and more sympathetic study of his sermons would have revealed the fact that, though he is unsparing in his condemnation of pagan error and immorality, he is at heart not hostile to the refining and cultural influences of antiquity. We shall briefly review the more important passages in Chrysostom which bear out this conclusion.[7]

In Book III[8] of his treatise *Against the Enemies of Monasticism* he emphasizes the duty of parents to send their children to Christian schools, where their morals and religious training are safeguarded, rather than to pagan schools, where they "learn vice before letters." And, to prevent any misunderstanding, he exclaims: "'What then?' some one will say, 'Shall we abolish all our schools?' By no means do I say this, but we should not destroy the edifice of virtue nor bury the soul alive." He then proves at length that the acquisition of virtue is more important than the pursuit of eloquence. In confirmation of this he cites the philosophers Anacharsis, Crates, Diogenes, and Socrates who made no account of letters but applied themselves exclusively to the study of moral philosophy. The opening of Socrates' Apology is then quoted, where he says to the judges: "But you shall hear from me nothing but the truth. Not . . . . speeches finely decked out with words and phrases, ... nor carefully arranged . . . ." Chrysostom then remarks that the apostles, who were unlettered, converted the whole world, whereas the eloquent philosophers could not win over even a single tyrant. Then he adds the caution: "But let no one think I am laying down the rule that youths should not be instructed (in profane learning). However, if anyone gives me a guarantee regarding the necessary things (*i. e.*, virtue), I would not oppose this being given in the bargain. For, as, when the very foundations of a house are rocking and the whole structure is in danger of falling into ruins, it would be the utmost folly and madness to run to the plasterers

[6] *Fl. Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.* Suppl. XIX (1893), 397.
[7] On this general subject cf. A. Naegele.
[8] 47, 367 ff.

and not to the builders: so it were unseasonable pertinacity, when the walls of a building stand firm and unshaken, to hinder him who would plaster it."

This agrees perfectly with the principles of Christian pedagogy which insists that moral discipline must ever be the foundation of intellectual training. Far from rejecting the study of letters, Chrysostom holds it to be a necessary complement of a perfect education. His quotation of the Apology shows him taking the same position toward eloquence which Plato assumed when, as here and in his Gorgias,[9] he attacks rhetoric in the name of truth. Such attacks are aimed not at sane rhetoric, but at its abuse by the sophists.

It is against the neglect of religious education and the materialistic principles of paganism that Chrysostom again warns Christian parents in *Hom.* XXI, 2, *on Ephes.:*[10] "Let everything be secondary with us to the provident care we should take of our children, and to our bringing them up in the chastening and admonition of the Lord. . . . . You will effect nothing so great by teaching him an art, and giving him that outward learning by which he will gain riches, as if you teach him the art of despising riches. . . . . Study not to make him an orator, but train him up to be a philosopher (*i. e.,* in the Christian sense). In the want of the one there will be no harm whatever; in the absence of the other, all the rhetoric in the world will be of no advantage. Tempers are wanted, not talking; character, not cleverness; deeds, not words. . . . . Whet not his tongue, but cleanse his soul." And, as if to forestall all criticism, both contemporaneous and modern, he adds: "I do not say this to prevent your teaching him these things, but to prevent your attending to them exclusively." It is plain from these words that Chrysostom does not condemn classic culture, but the baneful products of paganism, an excessive love of wealth, and indifference to the higher interests of man.

Although he cautions parents against the dangerous effects of heathen mythology on the tender minds of the young,[11] yet he does not hesitate to introduce into his sermons reminiscences from classic literature, poets, dramatists, philosophers etc. in the shape of comparisons or in confirmation of the truths of Christianity, *e. g.:* "For God has so implanted that idea (*i. e.,* of hell) within us, that no one can ever be ignorant of it. For poets, and philoso-

[9] 482 a-b, 502 e.
[10] 62, 150 ff.
[11] *Hom.* XXI, 1, *on Ephes.;* 62, 150.

phers, and fabulists, and in short all men, have philosophized concerning the retribution that is there, and have said that the greater number are punished in Hades. And if those things are fables, yet what we have received is not such."[12]

He defends St. Paul for observing the same policy in quoting Epimenides,[13] Aratus, and the inscription of the altar at Athens in his speech before the Areopagus:[14] "And as to the question, why does he cite the testimonies of the Greeks? It is because we put them most to confusion, when we bring our testimonies and accusations from their own writers, when we make those their accusers who are admired among themselves. . . . . Thus does God too, as in the case of the Wise Men. He does not conduct them by an Angel, nor a Prophet, nor an Apostle, nor an Evangelist, but how? By a star. For, as their art made them conversant with these, He made use of such means to guide them. . . . . Thus He everywhere condescends."[15]

On one occasion he deemed it necessary to vindicate his own position toward Hellenism, as appears from the following: "Let no one think it an insult to Christ, if, when speaking of Him, we make mention of Pythagoras and Plato, Zeno and the Tyanean; for we do it not of our own inclination, but to accommodate ourselves to the weakness of the Jews."[16] Then he appeals to the example of St. Paul and to God's manner of dealing with the Jews.

And who is not surprised to hear this stern interpreter of Holy Writ voice his appreciation of the charm of Greek myths: "How many stories have ofttimes been woven on these subjects (θλίψεις καὶ ταλαιπωρίαι of ancient rulers)! For nearly all the tragedies of the stage, as well as the mythical stories, have kings for their subjects. For most of these stories are formed from true incidents, for it is thus they please. As, for example, Thyestes' banquet, and the destruction of all that family by their misfortunes. These things we know from the writers that are without (pagan historians): but if you will, I will adduce instances from the Scripture too."[17]

Chrysostom often presupposes in his hearers an intimate acquaintance with classic literature, as in the largely mythological

[12] *Hom.* IX, 5, *on Thessal.;* 62, 446.
[13] *Tit.* I, 12.
[14] *Acts* XVII, 28 and 23.
[15] *Hom.* III, 1 and 2 *on Tit.;* 62, 677 and 678.
[16] *Hom. agst. the Jews* V, 3; 48, 886.
[17] *Hom.* XV, 5 *on Philipp.;* 62, 296.

fourth chapter of his *Hom.* V *on Titus,*[18] and he compliments the widow of Therasius on her familiar knowledge of examples in literature and history of men who despised riches: "And you have no need to learn from me, who these men were, for you know them better than I do, Epaminondas, Socrates, Aristides, Diogenes, Crates etc." [19]

Once he even recommends to his audience the study of the classic poets, philosophers, rhetoricians, and historians, in order to gather lessons of practical wisdom: "Read, if you will, both our own (books) and those without (*i. e.,* pagan writers): for they also abound in such examples. If you despise ours, and this from pride; if you admire the works of philosophers, go even to them. They will instruct you relating ancient calamities, as will poets, and orators, and sophists, and all historians. On every side, if you will, you may find examples." [20]

These unmistakable declarations of the Golden-mouthed Orator should dispel finally and definitely the false notion of his hostility to profane literature. In the light of the proofs we have here briefly sketched, the statement of Puech appears altogether unwarranted: "On ne trouverait pas chez ce Père, le plus éloquent des Pères, un mot en faveur des lettres." [21] In fairness to Chrysostom we must admit that he was large-minded enough to appreciate what was good in pagan culture and that, in quitting the forum for the pulpit, and the study of literature for that of Holy Scripture, he did not repudiate his former ideals, but elevated, purified, and ennobled them. It has been well said of him: "Chrysostome est le plus beau génie de la société nouvelle, enté sur l'ancien monde, il est par excellence le Grec devenu chrétien." [22]

But there was a particular phase of Greek culture in regard to which Chrysostom was plainly hostile, and that was the Sophistic Rhetoric. We have seen how he emphasized the importance of virtue and truth before eloquence, how he admonished parents to train their children in the fear of God rather than to make them skilled orators. To the sophists, however, virtue and truth were negligible considerations. All their efforts were bent on a display of rhetorical and dialectical virtuosity. Hence Chrysostom's bitter attacks against them. He frequently glories in the fact that St. Paul and the other Apostles were ignorant of the "tricks"

[18] 62, 692-694.
[19] *To a Young Widow,* 6; 48, 607.
[20] *Hom.* I *on Thess.* II; 62, 472.
[21] *St. Jean Chrysostome et les moeurs de son temps,* Paris (1891), 124.
[22] Villemain, *De l'éloquence chrétienne dans le quatrième siècle,* 391.

of rhetoric,[23] and that they were free from the craftiness and verbosity of the rhetors, *e.g.*:[24] "Thus the expression, 'I determined to know nothing,' was spoken in contradistinction to the wisdom which is without, 'For I came not weaving syllogisms nor sophisms, nor saying unto you anything else than, Christ was crucified.' They indeed have ten thousand things to say, and concerning ten thousand things they speak, winding out long courses of words, framing arguments and syllogisms, compounding sophisms without end." Again:[25] "The pagan philosophers, rhetors, and writers, seeking not what is conducive to the common good, but having in view only that they might be admired, even when they said something useful, veiled it in their usual obscurity. Not so the apostles and prophets."

Chrysostom knew from personal experience the shallowness and artificiality of sophistic rhetoric. He had passed through the school of the most accomplished sophist of his day, Libanius. He had for some time pleaded at the bar with distinction, but had turned away with disgust from the chicanery and sham of the sophistic profession. To see this brand of eloquence introduced into the churches roused his indignation, which is expressed in the following sarcastic invective:[26]

"Many take a deal of pains to be able to stand up in public and make a long speech: and if they get applause from the multitude, they feel as if they gained the very kingdom (of heaven): but if silence follows the close of their speech, it is worse than hell itself, the dejection that falls upon their spirits from the silence! This has turned the Churches upside down, because you do not desire to hear a discourse calculated to lead you to compunction, but one that may delight you from the sound and composition of the words, as though you were listening to singers and minstrels (*κιθαρῳδῶν καὶ κιθαριστῶν*): and we too act a preposterous and pitiable part in being led by your lusts, when we ought to root them out. And so it is just as if the father of a poor, cold-blooded child (already more delicate than it ought to be) should, although it is so feeble, give it cake and cold (drink), and whatever merely pleases the child, and take no account of what might do it good; and then, being reproved by the physician, should excuse himself by saying, 'What can I do? I cannot bear to see the child crying.' Thou poor, wretched creature, thou betrayer! for I cannot call

[23] *On the Priesthood,* IV, 6; 48, 669; *Hom.* XIII *on Acts;* 60, 107.
[24] *Hom.* VI *on I Cor.* II, 2; 61, 48.
[25] *Serm.* III, 3 *on Lazarus;* 48, 994.
[26] *Hom.* XXX *on Acts* XIII, 2; 60, 225.

such a one a father. . . . . Just such is our case, when we vainly busy ourselves about beautiful expressions, and the composition and harmony of our sentences, in order that we may please, not profit: (when) we make it our aim to be admired, not to instruct; to delight, not prick to the heart; to be applauded and depart with praise, not to correct men's manners!" He then dwells on the evil effect of applause on both preacher and people, and suggests that a rule be established forbidding it. But his protests were of no avail.[27] Even while he pleaded he was interrupted by applause.[28] But Chrysostom persisted, adding that if they would heed his advice, it would greatly benefit them and himself: "So shall we lay the whole stress of our time and diligence not upon arts of composition and beauties of expression, but upon the matter and meaning of the thoughts." Matters had come to such a pass that even the pagans reproached the Christians for their love of display, as we read in the same sermon:[29] "On this account are we evil spoken of even among the Gentiles, as though we did all for display and ostentation."

As a young deacon he had already realized the danger to the preacher from the depraved taste of the public, who attended sermons as if they were dramatic or musical spectacles, when he wrote:[30] "For the public are accustomed to listen not for profit, but for pleasure, sitting like critics of tragedies, and of musical entertainments, and that facility of speech against which we declaimed just now, in this case becomes desirable, even more than in the case of barristers (σοφισταῖς), where they are obliged to contend one against the other." To "correct this disorderly and unprofitable pleasure on the part of the multitude," he suggests two remedies: "indifference to their praise and the power of preaching well."

Chrysostom's conduct towards his former teacher Libanius is typical of his attitude regarding the entire profession of sophists.[31] He never mentions him by name and refers to him in general

[27] Cf. also 48, 1045, 21; 49, 38, 33; 54, 472, 58.
[28] *Ib.* 226, 36.
[29] *Ib.* 228, 8.
[30] *On the Priesthood*, 48, 675, 7.
[31] Neither the anecdote related by Sozomenes (*Hist. Eccl.* VIII, 2) to the effect that Libanius, when asked on his deathbed whom he considered worthy to succeed him, replied: "John, if the Christians had not stolen him," nor the letter of Libanius addressed to a certain John, in which he praises him for a panegyric on the emperor (cited by Isidore of Pelusium, *Ep.* II, 42, and wrongly referred to John Chrysostom), can be regarded as proving any relations of Chrysostom with Libanius. Cf. W. v. Christ, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, VII, 2, 2, 1218, note 1.—We have no proof of relations of Chrysostom with any other sophist.

terms ("my sophist" or, "the sophist of the city") in only two of his writings. Once in his letter *To a Young Widow*,[32] where he records the sophist's tribute to his mother Anthusa, and again, at greater length, in his *Book on St. Babylas against Julian and the Gentiles*.[33] Here he refutes and with strong sarcasm ridicules Libanius' monody on the grove of Daphne and the temple of Apollo at Antioch, both of which had been destroyed by fire. Quoting passages of the monody, he brands its author as a θρηνῳδός (howler), ληρόσοφος (babbler),[34] and μιαρός (blackguard),[35] and compares him to a tragic actor and a madman.[36] These scornful epithets certainly do not argue much esteem for his old teacher, nor for the profession which reckoned him its most illustrious member. They can be partly explained by Chrysostom's abhorrence for all pagan worship, of which the sophists were the official champions and defenders. They are generally placed in the same category with other enemies of the faith, tyrants, kings, philosophers etc.[37]

That Chrysostom was not opposed to a sane and moderate use of rhetoric, and that he required rhetorical ability in the preacher, we infer from several passages of his treatise *On the Priesthood, e.g.*: "Wherefore it should be our ambition that the word of Christ dwell in us abundantly (*Coll.* III, 16). . . . . This warfare is manifold, and is engaged with a great variety of enemies, ... and he who has to join battle with all must needs know the artifices of all, and be at once both archer and slinger, captain and general, in the ranks and in command, on foot and on horseback, in sea-fight and in siege."[38]

He demands[39] that even a preacher of great ability must maintain a high standard by constant application and exercise, and gives as a reason: "The efforts of the former, unless they be especially wonderful and startling, not only fail to win applause, but meet with many faultfinders." In one of his sermons[40] he even remarks that, in order to relieve the strain on the audience, "one should speak at one time more in the style of debate, at another in a more panegyrical style." Now, the latter was the showy

[32] 48, 601.
[33] 50, 560-566.
[34] 50, 561.
[35] *Ib.* 562.
[36] *Ib.* 563.
[37] 48, 831; 50, 536.
[38] 48, 666, 17.
[39] *Ib.* 48, 674.
[40] *On Psalm* 41; 55, 155.

style of the eulogy and the sophists especially aimed to excel in it; from which we gather that Chrysostom considered a moderate display of rhetoric as legitimate in preaching. In another sermon [41] he justifies the use of figures of speech: "When we have the care of the sick, we must not set before them a meal prepared at haphazard, but a variety of dishes, so that the patient may choose what suits his taste. Thus we should proceed in the spiritual repasts. Since we are weak, the sermon must be varied and embellished; it must contain comparison, proofs, paraphrases, and the like, so that we may select what will profit our soul."

Summing up the results of this chapter, we must conclude that Chrysostom was not a narrow-minded foe of Hellenism, as some critics would have us believe; that he was alive to the refining and cultural forces of pagan literature, and that he favored the enlistment of profane rhetoric in the exposition of Christian truth. To overstep the limits of utility or necessity, and to make rhetoric an end instead of a means to an end, as the sophist rhetors did, such a policy ran counter to his high conception of the office of a Christian orator. So much for his theory. We shall now investigate the practical application of this theory.

[41] *On the Obscurity of the Prophecies,* 56, 165.

CHAPTER III

MINOR FIGURES OF SPEECH

In taking up the study of St. Chrysostom's style, we shall not regard it from the more elementary viewpoint of syntax or vocabulary. We shall treat here only his rhetorical style through a study of the chief figures of speech that modify it.

The rhetoricians, since Aristotle,[1] distinguished two kinds of style, the λέξις εἰρομένη, the paratactical, or disjointed style, in which the short cola or κόμματα of a period were detached, and the λέξις κατεστραμμένη, the jointed style of long rolling periods, in which the cola were closely joined together forming an organic whole. Some sophists employed either style in accordance with the exigencies of the subject they were treating. Thus Gregory Nazianzen, while proficient in both styles, inclines more to the choppy style favored by the Asiatic rhetors,[2] which led Usener[3] to speak of "Der rasche Tanz asianischer Kola" in one of his sermons. Chrysostom, like his teacher Libanius, shows a preference for the periodic style.

Parallelism of form is the most striking feature of both styles and of artistic Greek prose in general. It requires that each word, each colon, bear a relation in sound, position, or structure to a corresponding word or colon of the same or the following period. Hence that fine balance and symmetry in words, cola, and periods which the Greeks regarded as the greatest charm of their language. To produce this parallelism they employed the so-called Γοργίεια σχήματα. Before we discuss these in particular, we must consider a group of accessory devices used by the rhetors to embellish their style. These are: pleonasm, arsis, epanaphora, antistrophe, symploke, κύκλος, κλῖμαξ, hyperbaton, alliteration, paronomasia, oxymoron, and hyperbole.

One of the most rudimentary of these devices is *pleonasm,* caused by placing two or several synonymous words or phrases side by side, which adds ample dignity and splendor to expression. Chrysostom, whose style is of an Oriental exuberance, uses pairs of synonyms so frequently, that we quote only more re-

[1] Book 3 of his *Rhetoric.*
[2] Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* II, 566.
[3] *Religionsgeschichtl. Untersuchungen* I, Bonn (1889), 253.

markable examples; 49, 41, 39: *πολέμιός ἐστιν ὁμόσκηνος, ἐχθρὸς σύνοικος.* Both adjectives and nouns form a pair of synonyms. 49, 33, 40: *Τί εἶπω καὶ τί λαλήσω; δακρύων ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς, οὐχὶ ῥημάτων· θρήνων, οὐχὶ λόγων· εὐχῆς, οὐ δημηγορίας.* This is a remarkable example of redundance. The idea of speech is expressed five times, that of grief twice. Note the threefold arsis, positive—negative. 49, 34, 59: *μόλις ἰσχύω διᾶραι στόμα, καὶ ἀνοῖξαι χείλη, καὶ κινῆσαι γλῶτταν, καὶ ῥήματα προέσθαι.* The idea of speech is expressed four times. 49, 34, 48: *δῆμος εὔτακτος οὕτω καὶ ἥμερος, καὶ καθάπερ ἵππος χειροήθης καὶ τιθασσὸς, ἀεὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων εἴκων χερσίν.* We have here five variations of the same idea. 50, 461, 38: *στρατόπεδα ἐπαγόμενος, ἀγγέλων τάγματα, ἀρχαγγέλων συμμορίας, μαρτύρων φρατρίας, δικαίων χορούς.* A very striking instance is, 50, 580, 22, *On St. Pelagia: τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῆς πάντα ἐπεδείκνυτο, τὴν προθυμίαν, τὸ φρόνημα, τὸ γενναῖον, τὸ βουληθῆναι, τὸ προελέσθαι, τὸ σπεῦσαι, τὸ ἐπειχθῆναι.* The idea is first stated broadly, then analyzed in graded enumeration, the first group of three, the next of two, and the last of two synonyms denoting successively the disposition, act of the will, and its execution.

Another form of amplification is the figure *κατ' ἄρσιν καὶ θέσιν*, less properly called arsis, which presents the idea first negatively and then positively, the positive statement being introduced by *ἀλλά*. This figure is very common. Here is an example of fourfold arsis, 52, 396, 10:

Ἀλλ' οὐ δικαστηρίου καιρὸς νῦν, ἀλλ' ἐλέους·
οὐκ εὐθύνης, ἀλλὰ φιλανθρωπίας·
οὐκ ἐξετάσεως, ἀλλὰ συγχωρήσεως·
οὐ ψήφου καὶ δίκης, ἀλλὰ οἴκτρου καὶ χάριτος.

Note the fine balance of this period and the pleonasm of five synonyms for justice on the negative, opposed to five synonyms for mercy on the positive side. The most striking example occurs in 50, 710, 54, where there is an eightfold arsis, followed at 711, 7 by nine more instances of the same figure, separated only by an occasional introductory clause.

Epanaphora is the repetition of the same word, or words, at the head of successive cola. Hermogenes informs us that the sophists employed it with a view to *δεινότης*, and ranges it among the figures that give beauty to style.[4] It should be used with cola, rather than *κόμματα*, otherwise the effect is one of *γοργότης* (nervous energy). It is most emphatic when asyndetic, especially at the

[4] Spengel, *περὶ ἰδεῶν*, 358, 8.

head of rhetorical questions. In this form it occurs very often in Chrysostom. The most elaborate instances are: at the head of interrogative cola, πῶς . . . . 5 times, 49, 386, 9. Ποῦ . . . . 8 times in a series of short questions, *e.g.*, ποῦ ὁ πλοῦτος; ποῦ τὰ ἀργυρώματα; ποῦ. . . . . This series is preceded by five short cola, each beginning with ὅτε . . . . ὅτε . . . . 52, 399, 12. *Ib.* 391, 30: ποῦ . . . . 5 times. Μέχρι πότε . . . . 7 times in short questions, 52, 400, 60. Τίς . . . . 5 times with cola of moderate length, 50, 435, 13. Οὐ δύνασαι . . . .; 6 times with short questions, 52, 410, 10, and οὐ δύνασαι εἶναι . . . .; 7 times in as many questions followed by five answers each headed by Γένου . . . . in a climax, 52, 410, 22. Mostly in κόμματα, not interrogative: ὅταν . . . . 4 times, followed by τότε . . . . also 4 times, 49, 398, 4. Πανταχοῦ . . . . 9 times in an enumeration of nouns, 52, 409, 30. Μηδείς . . . . 13 times with nouns, 49, 390, 2. Εἰσῆλθεν εἰς . . . . καί . . . . 4 times, followed by ἀπῆλθεν εἰς . . . . καί . . . . 5 times, 52, 409, 38—a very artificial instance. Τύραννος . . . . 5 times, heading clauses of parallel structure, 50, 644, 26. A very remarkable example is: ὧδε . . . . 10 times, alternating with ἐκεῖ . . . . also 10 times, *e.g.*, ὧδε γηρῶ, ἐκεῖ οὐ γηρῶ, ὧδε θνήσκω, ἐκεῖ . . . . The oddest instance we have found occurs in: 52, 404, 23-46, where Διὰ τί ἐκλήθη . . . . is repeated 18 times in rhetorical questions, each followed by an answer, thus: Διὰ τί ἐκλήθη ὁδός; Ἵνα μάθῃς, ὅτι, ... the four first answers headed by ἵνα μάθῃς ὅτι; the other 14 by ὅτι. . . . .

The opposite of epanaphora is *antistrophe,* which consists in the repetition of the same word, or words, at the end of successive clauses: 52, 402, 50: ζηλεύει Θεὸς, ὀργίζεται Θεὸς, μετανοεῖ Θεὸς, μισεῖ Θεός. 52, 398, 26: . . . . ὑβρίζῃ, ... ὑβρίσῃς, ... ὑβρίσθης (Imperfect). 52, 410, 52: . . . . γάμου 3 times. 52, 402, 15: . . . . καλεῖται repeated 15 times in short κόμματα, with polysyndeton, *e.g.*, καὶ Πατὴρ καλεῖται, καὶ ὁδὸς καλεῖται. . . . .

Symploke is epanaphora and antistrophe combined. Few instances of this artificial figure were found. The most striking one is: 52, 403, 48: ποτὲ . . . . ἐστί repeated 11 times, *e.g.*, ποτὲ γύμφη ἐστί, ποτὲ θυγάτηρ ἐστί . . . . a twelfth clause sums up, πάντα ἐστί. 50, 436, 34: σήμερον ἐν γῇ χαρὰ, σήμερον ἐν οὐρανῷ χαρά. Cf. 52, 405, 35; 50, 435, 33.

The very artificial figure of κύκλος occurs when the first clause of a period begins, and the next or the last clause ends with the same word: (a—, —a); or (a—, ..., —a). Here is a double

κύκλος, which is also a twofold instance of the figure called *definitio:* 50, 653, 8:

> χρήματα γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο καλεῖται,
> ἵνα αὐτοῖς εἰς δέον χρώμεθα,
> οὐχ ἵνα κατορύττωμεν·
> κτήματα διὰ τοῦτο λέγονται,
> ἵνα ἡμεῖς αὐτὰ κτησώμεθα,
> καὶ μὴ αὐτῶν γενώμεθα κτήματα.

The first κύκλος is not perfect, because χρήματα is not repeated in the same form. Note the parallel structure of these two periods forming a πάρισον. 50, 433, 15: ἀπῆλθεν ἡ νηστεία, ἀλλὰ μενέτω ἡ εὐλάβεια· μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ ἡ νηστεία ἀπῆλθε.

Another highly artificial figure is the so-called κλῖμαξ, a repetition of the last word of the preceding clause in several clauses of the period. A dozen instances were found: 50, 440, 27: Ἀπὸ γὰρ γέλωτος εὐτραπελία, ἀπὸ εὐτραπελίας αἰσχρολογία, ἀπὸ αἰσχρολογίας αἰσχρὰ πράγματα, ἀπὸ πραγμάτων αἰσχρῶν κολάσεις καὶ τιμωρίαι (threefold). 52, 398, 45: Κἂν γὰρ μὴ πάντες ἀκούσωσι, οἱ ἡμίσεις ἀκούσονται· κἂν μὴ οἱ ἡμίσεις ἀκούσωσι, τὸ τρίτον μέρος· κἂν μὴ τὸ τρίτον μέρος, τὸ τέταρτον· κἂν μὴ τὸ τέταρτον, κἂν δέκα· κἂν μὴ δέκα κἂν πέντε· κἂν μὴ πέντε, κἂν εἷς· κἂν μὴ εἷς, ἐγὼ τὸν μισθὸν ἀπηρτισμένον ἔχω (sixfold). Cf. 50, 446, 51; 52, 410, 10; *ib.* 22.

Hyperbaton is the transposition of words from their grammatical order. Three chief varieties occur in Chrysostom:

1) The article is separated from its noun by a long interval. This form of hyperbaton was thought by the sophists to lend beauty to style, *e.g.*, 59, 481, 22: Τὸν οὖν κἀθ' ἑκάστην, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὑπὲρ τῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην οἰκούντων ἀλγοῦντα. 50, 476, 53: τὰς ἐν τοσούτοις ἔτεσι τοῦ Παύλου μάστιγας.

2) The noun is separated from its possessive or explanatory modifier, *e.g.*, 50, 593, 30: ἵνα τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ σταυρωθέντος Χριστοῦ διὰ τῶν ἔργων παράσχωνται τὴν ἀπόδειξιν.

3) The most frequent form is the interposition of a verb, or of several words, between a noun and its adjective, *e.g.*, 49, 398, 8: τῆς θυσίας ἀπολαῦσαι ταύτης. Often this is done to emphasize a word placed alone at the beginning, or at the end of the clause, 48, 623, 29: Ἦν δὲ ἡμῖν . . . . καὶ σπουδὴ περὶ τοὺς λόγους, οὓς ἐπονούμεθα, μία. 50, 474, 19: δαψιλὴς ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐξεχύθη εἰς αὐτὸν δωρεά. Frequently the adjective and noun are thus separated to set off the consonance of their endings, producing an effect similar to the homoioteleuton, *e.g.*, 59, 25, 25: καὶ τοσούτων

γέμουσα ἀπορρήτων, καὶ τοσαῦτα κομίζουσα ἀγαθά. 49, 398, 9: τῇ τραπέζῃ προσιὼν ταύτῃ. 49, 397, 42: οὐ τ ά φ ῳ μέλλοντες παρίστασθαι κ ε ν ῷ. 52, 393, 78: τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐννοώμεθα πραγμάτων.

Alliteration and *paronomasia* are figures arising from the tendency towards symmetry and antithesis. *Alliteration* signifies the recurrence of the same initial letter or letters in words generally succeeding immediately. If the same sounds occur in the middle or at the end of succeeding words, the figure is *assonance*. Chrysostom shows a great fondness for this poetical and musical figure. Omitting the very frequent instances of pairs of words containing this figure, many of which may be accidental, we cite only the more striking combinations:

a) *Alliteration,* 50, 437, 32: πολλάκις ὁ πένης τὸν πλούσιον πρωτεύει ἐν τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ. 50, 439, 9: αὕτη ἀνάστασις ἀπαλλαγὴ ἁμαρτημάτων. 50, 442, 11: τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύσομεν τῶν ἀποκειμένων τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν. 50, 637, 32: ποιήσωμεν τοὺς παῖδας πατραλοίας διὰ τῆς προδοσίας. 49, 395, 27: ἀμείλικτος καὶ ἀνένδοτος καὶ αὐτοαδάμας. 50, 437, 51: πανταχόθεν περιρραντίζεται, καὶ πολλὰ προστρίβεται.

b) *Assonance,* 52, 401, 59: ἄλλον ὀχήματι φερόμενον, σηρικὸν περιβεβλημένον ἱμάτιον, κορυφούμενον. 49, 383, 18: Διὰ τοῦτον οὖν δάκρυσον πικρὸν καὶ στέναξον μᾶλλον. 49, 36, 22: τῶν ἡμετέρων ὀφθαλμῶν τῷ τεθολῶσθαι τῆς ἀθυμίας.

c) *Alliteration* and *assonance* combined, 50, 445, 23: ἕτερός τις ἐλθὼν, καὶ μέσον ἑαυτὸν ἐμβαλὼν ἑκατέρων λύει τὴν ἔχθραν. *Ib.* 38: πῶς οὐ πρότερον ἀπέστη πάντα ποιῶν καὶ πάσχων καὶ πραγματευόμενος, ἕως τὸν πολέμιον. 50, 476, 8: οὐδὲν οὐδέποτε πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπινον πάθος ἔπαθεν (with paronomasia). 50, 573, 18: σφαττομένων, καιομένων, κρημνιζομένων, καταποντιζομένων. 50, 602, 13: πάντα τὰ μέλλοντα προορῶν πόρρωθεν, προσίοντα τὸν πόλεμον ἀπεκρούετο. 50, 636, 3: μητρὸς προσεδρία, καὶ πατρὸς πρόνοια, καὶ πολλὴ παρὰ τῶν γονέων ἐπιμέλεια γίνεται. 50, 636, 55: ἐξαίφνης ἐπιτάγματα πονηρὰ πανταχοῦ κατεπέμπετο πολλῆς. 50, 679, 2: ποικίλον προσθήκην καὶ πλεονασμὸν πλείονος δόξης παρεσκεύασε. 50, 637, 18: τότε τοίνυν ταῦτα ἐπιτάττοντες. 50, 530, 26: ἀποσυλῆσαι τὸν κοσμὸν, καὶ καταλῦσαι τὸ κήρυγμα. *Ib.* 37: τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων πείρας πάντων ἀξιοπιστοτέραν ταύτην εἶναι πεπίστευκα (with paronomasia). 50, 636, 15: μάρτυρες αὗται μεταξὺ Σοδόμων καὶ πάντων τῶν πολεμίων οὖσαι, καὶ πολιορκούμεναι πανταχόθεν, οὐδὲν ἔπασχον δεινόν. 50, 686, 36: οὐ γὰρ γοητείᾳ ἐγίνετο τὰ γινόμενα.

Paronomasia is based on the similarity of sound of entire words, irrespective of their relative position in the colon. With this similarity of sound is combined dissimilarity of sense, thus

constituting a play on words, which is most effective when words most similar in sound are most dissimilar in sense. The various forms of *paronomasia* may be grouped under two heads, 1) Words having the same root:

a) With changes and additions of prefixes, 49, 36, 52: ἡ πολύπαις ἄπαις . . . . γεγένηται. 49, 41, 2: εὐτέλειαν . . . . πολυτέλειαν. 49, 41, 25: τὸ μεῖζον τῆς χρείας . . . . ἄχρηστον. 49, 45, 30: ἄπονον . . . . ἐπίπονον. 49, 45, 43: ἀρρωστήματι . . . . εὔρωστα. 50, 447, 1: οὔτε καταβῆναι ἦν κατώτερον, οὗ κατέβη ὁ ἄνθρωπος, οὔτε ἀναβῆναι ἀνώτερον, οὗ ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸν πάλιν (antithetical parison). 51, 45, 27: ἅγιος γάρ ἐστι, καὶ πανάγιος καὶ ἁγίων ἁγιώτερος. 52, 396, 24: ἀπάνθρωπον . . . . φιλάνθρωπον. 52, 413, 5: καλή . . . . φιλοκαλίαν . . . . ἄμορφος . . . . εὔμορφον. 52, 409, 16: ἀσεβείας . . . . εὐσεβείας. 52, 394, 22: καθαρόν . . . . ἀκάθαρτος. 52, 404, 17: οὗτος τοσοῦτος καὶ τηλικοῦτος (a favorite figure of the sophists).

b) With changes of case (*polyptoton*), voice, mood, tense etc.: Instances of this kind are so common that we cite only a few, 52, 397, 48: Μένε εἰς Ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ οὐ προδίδοσαι ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Ἐὰν δὲ φύγῃς ἀπὸ Ἐκκλησίας, οὐκ αἰτία ἡ Ἐκκλησία. 50, 637, 30: τῷ φονεύοντι παραδοὺς τὸν φονεύεσθαι μέλλοντα, αὐτὸς τὸν φόνον εἰργάσατο. 50, 701, 15: διώκεσθαι καὶ μὴ διώκειν, ἐλαύνεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἐλαύνειν . . . . οὐ σταυρώσας, ἀλλὰ σταυρωθεὶς, οὐ ῥαπίσας, ἀλλὰ ῥαπισθείς. 50, 647, 24: πολλοὶ πολλάκις . . . . πολλοῖς. 50, 579, 34: οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε . . . . οὐδέν. 50, 581, 41: οὐδεμίαν οὐδαμόθεν. 52, 408, 12: οὗτος οὐχ οὕτως.

2) Words of different roots. This form of *paronomasia* is called *parechesis* by some modern writers.[5] The instances of this kind are not so numerous, but very artistic: 56, 266, 15: παιδοκτόνους ἀντὶ πατέρων . . . . ἀποκαλῶν. 56, 267, 43: διὰ μικρὰν ἡδονὴν διηνεκῆ τὴν ὀδύνην ὑπομένετε. 49, 383, 28: εἰς δειλίαν ἐνάγει τοὺς μαθητὰς καὶ ἐναγωνίους ποιεῖ. 49, 385, 57: καθαρὰν ἔχειν κατηγορίας τὴν γλῶσσαν. 52, 392, 61: ἀναλώσασαι . . . . ἀπολαύσασα. 52, 392, 48: ἀσφάλειαν ἑαυτοῖς διὰ τῆς σῆς ἀγωνίας. 52, 400, 41: ἐγκώμια . . . . ἐγκλήματα. 52, 405, 36: ἵνα τὴν πόρνην παρθένον ἐργάσηται. 52, 402, 51: τὰ ῥήματα . . . . τὰ νοήματα. 52, 401, 43: οὐ λέγω πρόσωπα (persons) ἀλλὰ πράγματα. 52, 401, 49: ἐγκαλοῦντα . . . . ἐπαινοῦντα. 52, 397, 60: κλυδωνίζεται ἀλλ' οὐ καταποντίζεται. 52, 397, 27: οὐ τόπον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρόπον. 52, 393, 16: εὐτελείας . . . . ἀληθείας. 52, 394, 32: μὴ ποιεῖτε τοιαῦτα, ἵνα μὴ πάθητε τοιαῦτα. *Ib.* 18: ἅρπαγα ἅπτεσθαι. 50, 439, 11: ἔδωκε τὴν μείζονα, προσδόκα καὶ τὴν ἐλάττονα. 49, 38, 4: τὸ

[5] Cf. J. C. Robertson, *The Gorgianic Figures in early Greek Prose*, 22, Baltimore, 1891.

ἁμάρτημα γέγονεν ὀλίγων, καὶ τὸ ἔγκλημα γίνεται κοινόν. 49, 40, 24: Πῶς δὲ ἔχει τὴν κτῆσιν, ὧν τὴν χρῆσιν οὐκ ἔχει (said of a miser). 49, 50, 51: οἰκίαν . . . . οὐσίαν. 49, 46, 44: ἀκαταγώνιστον καταγώγιον. 52, 417, 4: περίκοπτε τὸ περιττόν. 51, 270, 58: μηδὲν περαιτέρω περιεργάζου. 51, 46, 29: οὐ τρυφὴν, ἀλλὰ τροφήν. 50, 644, 47: τὰς εὐαπατήτους τε καὶ εὐπτοήτους γυναῖκας. 50, 602, 14: προορῶν πόρρωθεν. 50, 615, 28: τρανοτέρῳ (clearer) φθόγγῳ τὸν τύραννον ἤλεγχεν. 50, 531, 43: κεῖνται ἀκίνητα. 50, 682, 43 ff: Ποία γὰρ κοινωνία μέθῃ καὶ μάχῃ; γαστρίζεσθαι καὶ ἀνδρίζεσθαι; . . . . ὁπλίζου, μὴ καλλωπίζου· . . . . ἀνδρίζου, μὴ ὡραΐζου. This is the most striking example we have found. 50, 671, 27: Ἐκεῖνον (the prophet Daniel) μὲν εἰς λάκκον ἀπέκλεισαν, τοῦτον (St. Julian) δὲ εἰς σάκκον ἐνέβαλον. 48, 634, 1: κἂν λιμὸς ᾖ κἂν λοιμός (a favorite pun of the sophists). 55, 166, 41: χρυσῶν ἱματίων ἐπικειμένων καὶ ὑποκειμένων, ὥσπερ ἐν καμίνῳ κεῖται καιόμενος (said of a rich man).

Proper names derived from common nouns have generally lost all special signification. Chrysostom sometimes makes a pun by drawing on the original meaning of such names, *e. g.*, speaking of Sts. Bernice and Prosdoce, Martyrs, 50, 638, 17: "They came to a city called Ἱεράπολις, and thence they verily ascended εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν (*i. e.*, heaven)." In his sermon on St. Drosis (Δροσίς) who was tortured by fire, 50, 688, 49: "She looked upon the fire not as fire, but as dew (δρόσος)." A pun on the double signification of a word occurs 50, 709, 1. Chrysostom, a few lines above, has represented the martyrs on a red-hot gridiron (κλῖμαξ, which also means *ladder*). It reminds him of the ladder seen by the patriarch Jacob in a dream, and he draws a contrast: "By the one (κλῖμαξ) the angels descended, by the other the martyrs ascended."

All these instances of verbal jugglery do credit to Chrysostom's virtuosity of style, but they also show the artificiality of sophistic rhetoric.

The *oxymoron,* or *paradox,* which is also a sort of pun, marks a still higher degree of artificiality. It denotes the combination of two terms apparently contradictory, but which, viewed in the light of the context, are not incompatible. The *oxymoron* is, then, a kind of verbal antithesis. Though occurring rarely in the classic orators, it was employed with much gusto by the sophist rhetors on account of its piquant and sensational character.

The Christian orators, whose taste had been formed in the sophist schools, regarded this figure, which is artistically defective, as very suitable for setting forth the wonderful and supernatural character of the Christian religion. The mysteries of the Faith,

the sacraments, the miracles, all offered a rich fund of themes, which were, humanly speaking, paradoxical. That Chrysostom, with his impressionable nature and sprightly fancy, should manifest a strong inclination for this figure, need not surprise us.

It is highly interesting to note how he adapts one of the most famous oxymora of the sophists to a spiritual theme. We mean Gorgias' figure of ἔμψυχοι τάφοι (living graves) to designate vultures, which the author of περὶ ὕψους 3, 2, says was much ridiculed, but which can be traced in Latin literature from Ennius to Ovid, *Metam.* VI, 665, and Seneca, *Contr.* X, praef. 9, and in Greek literature in Achilles Tat. III, 5, 4,[6] and in the Christian fathers down to Gregory Nazianzen.[7] Chrysostom uses the figure in several variations. In his panegyric on St. Eustathius, Martyr, 50, 600, 32, he says to the faithful: "And every one of you here present is a τάφος ἔμψυχος καὶ πνευματικός of the martyr; for if I unfold the conscience of each one, I find the saint abiding in your soul." He continues: "The enemy has gained nothing and has rather increased the fame (of the saint) by making so many graves instead of one, living graves, τάφους φωνὴν ἀφιέντας, τάφους πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ζῆλον παρασκευαζομένους." This is a hopeless jumble of metaphors. Speaking of starving mothers who ate their offspring,[8] he says, 50, 523, 33: τῶν γεννηθέντων παιδίων ἡ τεκοῦσα γαστὴρ ἐγένετο τάφος. Again, 50, 435, 20: "The drunkard, having buried his soul in his body as in a coffin (ἐν μνήματι), νεκρὸν περιφέρει τὸ σῶμα." 50, 421, 52: St. Paul and his disciples, who were daily in danger of death, are called ἔμψυχοι νεκροί.[9]

In the majority of cases the oxymoron is formed by combining a term taken figuratively with one taken literally, *e.g.,* of the wicked it is said, 50, 663, 4: ἐν ἑορταῖς ἀνεορτοί εἰσιν. 50, 688, 5: ὅταν γυναῖκες ἀνδρίζωνται, *i.e.,* show a manly courage in suffering martyrdom. Referring to a religious service held on the sea, during which lighted torches were employed, Chrysostom says, 50, 700, 43: "Let us again make the sea a Church, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐνυγραίνοντες, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐμπιμπλῶντες πυρός." Of the good example of the martyrs he says, 50, 648, 23: Εἴδετε πῶς δυνατωτέρα καὶ σιγώντων ἡ φωνὴ τῶν μαρτύρων; Christ descended into limbo (ᾅδης), καὶ τὸν ᾅδην ἐποίησεν οὐρανόν, which is explained: "For where Christ is, there is heaven," 49, 395, 40.

[6] Cf. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* I, 385.
[7] 37, 1587. Cf. J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers,* Part II, ed. 2, vol. II (London 1889), 208, 2.
[8] Jerem. Lament. IV, 10.
[9] Cf. also 49, 22, 42.

Often the oxymoron arises from joining a word taken in the material sense with another taken in the spiritual sense. Thus the physical blindness of St. Paul had the effect of converting him and giving spiritual vision to the world, 50, 487, 14: *ἡ πήρωσις ἐκείνου φωτισμὸς γέγονε τῆς οἰκουμένης*, and, with double antithesis: *Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔβλεπε κακῶς, ἐπήρωσεν αὐτὸν καλῶς ὁ Θεὸς, ὥστε ἀναβλέψαι χρησίμως.* Commenting on I *Cor.* XV, 31, "I die daily," Chrysostom asks, 50, 601, 26: *πῶς δυνατὸν ἑνί σώματι θνητῷ μυρίους δέξασθαι θανάτους*; and explains that the Apostle means his constant readiness to die for the faith. With reference to *Matth.* XI, 12: "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence," Chrysostom makes Christ say, 52, 401, 52: *Ἐμὲ ἅρπασον, χάριν σοι ἔχω τῆς ἁρπαγῆς*, and adds: "If thou art minded to lay hold of an earthly kingdom, thou art punished; but in the case of the heavenly kingdom, thou art punished if thou dost not lay hold of it." 49, 396, 47: *ἀπὸ θανάτου* (*i. e.*, of Christ) *γεγόναμεν ἀθάνατοι.*

Sometimes the two terms, which in their ordinary signification are contradictory, represent two figures of speech not incompatible, *e. g.*, 52, 395, 29: *ἡ πέτρα* (*i. e.*, the hearts of the faithful) *γέγονε βαθύγειος* (spiritually productive). 52, 399, 8: *τὰ ἑτέρων ναυάγια ὑμῖν λιμένα κατασκευάζων*, *i. e.*, teaching you to avoid personal danger by placing before you the disasters of others.

The scenes of martyrdom present situations favorable to the paradox, *e. g.*, 50, 614, 2: Chrysostom addresses the tyrant and bids him cut out the tongue of St. Roman, in order that he may recognize human nature *καὶ ἄγλωσσον ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ῥητορεύουσαν.* He then relates how the martyr miraculously retained his speech after his tongue had been cut out, and exclaims: *θέαμα καινὸν καὶ παράδοξον·* (Chrysostom's favorite introduction to a paradox) *σάρκινος σαρκίνοις ἀσάρκως φθεγγόμενος.* This oxymoron is due to the figurative use of *ἀσάρκως* for *ἀγλώσσως.*

In the discourse *On St. Drosis, Martyr,* we find a series of three oxymora, 50, 688, 43: *αὕτη μανεῖσα μανίαν . . . . πάσης σωφροσύνης σεμνοτέραν*: Chrysostom explains the meaning of *μανία* by stating that the martyr was ravished with longing for Christ, so that, *οὐδὲν τῶν ὁρωμένων ἑώρα*, and she considered the fire *οὐχὶ πῦρ, ἀλλὰ δρόσον.* Here is an oxymoron which misses the mark, because the two terms are in no wise contradictory: On St. Domnina, mother of Sts. Bernice and Prosdoce, Virgin Martyrs, 50, 644, 22: *μήτηρ λύσασα παρθενίαν εἰς γένεσιν παρθένων.*

The Sacraments, with their spiritual efficacy, lend themselves to paradoxical treatment: Commenting on *Ephes.* V, 18: "And be not drunk with wine, wherein is luxury: but be ye filled with the holy Spirit," Chrysostom says: 50, 435, 53, Αὕτη ἡ καλὴ μέθη· κάρωσόν σου τὴν ψυχὴν τῷ Πνεύματι, and then he refers to the chalice of the Blood of Christ: Ἔστιν ἡμῖν ποτήριον μέθης καλόν . . . . σωφροσύνην ποιοῦν, οὐ παράλυσιν. Applying *Matth.* IV, 19: "Come ye after me, and I will make you to be fishers of men," to the Sacrament of Baptism, Chrysostom exclaims, 50, 436, 46: "Verily a new mode of fishing! the fishermen (ordinarily) draw the fish out of the water (ἐκβάλλουσιν), but we throw them into the water (ἐνεβάλλομεν), and thus catch the fish." Of the waters of Baptism he says, 50, 440, 12: "A new mode of cleansing. In bodily cleansing the more are washed, the filthier the water gets, but here (*i. e.*, in Baptism) the more are washed, the cleaner the water becomes."

The oxymoron is at times presented in the form of a so-called αἴνιγμα or riddle, which consists in obscuring the idea by representing it as impracticable or substantially impossible, *e. g.*, referring to the calamity at Antioch, 49, 35, 25: "And now our calamity has become an enigma; a flight without enemies; an expulsion of inhabitants without a battle; a captivity without capture! A similar instance with reference to Christ's dying for us on the cross occurs in 49, 396, 50: "Our weapons were not stained with gore, we stood not in battle array, we received not wounds, we saw not war, and yet we won the victory! The contest was the Lord's, but the crown is ours!"

Chrysostom's penchant for the paradox occasionally makes him exceed the bounds of propriety. Thus, in *Hom. 2 on Eutropius,* the union of Christ with his Church is represented under various images, 52, 402, 25: "Even so the Church also is called by many names. She is called a virgin, although formerly she was a harlot: for this is the miracle wrought by the Bridegroom, that He took her who was a harlot and hath made her a virgin. Oh! what a new and strange event! With us marriage destroys virginity, but with God marriage hath restored it. . . . . Let the heretic who inquires curiously into the nature of heavenly generation saying, 'how did the Father beget the Son?' interpret this single fact, ask him how did the Church, being a harlot, become a virgin? and how did she, having brought forth children, remain a virgin? (*2 Cor.* XI, 2.)" After a long digression Chrysostom

resumes, and formulates a paradox which is shocking in its boldness, 52, 405, 29: "But as I was saying, ὁ τοσοῦτος καὶ τηλικοῦτος ἐπεθύμησε πόρνης. Πόρνης ἐπεθύμει ὁ Θεός; Ναὶ, πόρνης. Then he explains: "I speak of our human nature under that name. . . . . A man desireth a harlot that he may become a fornicator: but God that He may convert the harlot into a virgin." Nothing could better prove the unsound nature of the paradox. Instead of tending to lessen the difficulties which the Faith offers to the inquiring mind, it rather accentuates all there is in the mysteries of religion to stagger and disconcert human reason.

The sensational and flashy qualities of the paradox are shared by a figure closely akin to it, *the hyperbole*. Indeed, the paradox is, so to speak, only a more subtle form of exaggeration. The *hyperbole* denotes the magnifying of an object beyond its natural bounds. Like the paradox it is not one of the ordinary habits of Chrysostom's style, but is employed only on special occasions and under the influence of some strong emotion, such as pity, grief, indignation, or admiration; as when he denounces Libanius' monody on the grove of Daphne and the temple of Apollo (50, 560-566), calling the sophist a blackguard (*ib.* 562), and comparing him to a madman (*ib.* 563), or when, in his homily on Eutropius, he points to the unhappy consul, "who had shaken the whole world" (52, 394, 63), but who was now clinging to a pillar of the altar, "more cowardly than a rabbit or a frog" (*ib.* 395, 1). Such exaggerations are moderate and evoked by sincere feeling, which makes them appear perfectly natural.

But there are occasions when the preacher lapses into a false pathos, and tries to communicate to his audience feelings which he himself does not share. For instance, when he describes the violent tortures of the martyrs, their heroic fortitude, and the cruelty of their persecutors, Chrysostom launches into strains of wild exaggeration. The eulogies on the Maccabees furnish some typical examples, *e.g.*, 50, 625, 5: The youngest of the seven brothers "hurls himself into the cauldron, deeming it a divine bath and baptism, as people whose clothes have caught fire leap into a lake of cold water; so inflamed was he with longing to join his brothers." The mother of the Maccabees had only one fear, namely, that the tyrant might spare one of her sons and thus rob him of his crown, and therefore "she all but seized her youngest son with her hands and thrust him into the cauldron, employing the exhortation and counsel of words in place of her hands" (50

621, 40). Far from feeling the anguish of a mother's heart at seeing her sons cruelly tortured, "she exults more than a mother who decks her sons for their wedding" (50, 626, 4). "With all her senses she perceived the trial of her children: she beheld them with her eyes, she heard their words with her ears, and with her nose perceived the odor of (roasting) flesh, which was both savory and unsavory (note the paradox): unsavory indeed to the unbelievers, but to God and to her most sweet!" (*ib.*) These extravagant hyperboles, instead of arousing in the audience sentiments of admiration, must have excited intense aversion to a mother represented as so unnatural and devoid of all maternal feeling.[10]

It is easy to understand that, when Chrysostom undertakes to celebrate the virtues of some saint, the hyperbole receives a prominent place. It was a requirement of the sophistic eulogy that the merits of the hero be systematically magnified. Chrysostom's first panegyric on St. Paul will best illustrate this (50, 473). The fundamental idea of the discourse is that St. Paul "possessed all the virtues found in all men, and that in transcendent measure, yea, even those of all the angels" (*ib.* 29). The preacher then enumerates the great patriarchs and prophets of old, Abel, Noe, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, concluding with David, Elias, Moses, John the Baptist, and the angels. The distinctive virtues of each are compared with those of St. Paul, with the result that the latter is pronounced superior to them all. In his second discourse on the same saint (50, 481, 36), Chrysostom remarks that neither gold, nor adamant, nor even the whole world are worthy to be compared with Paul. Then he adds: "If then the whole world is not worthy of him, what is? Perhaps heaven? Nay, this too is trivial. Because he preferred the love of the Lord to heaven, the Lord valued him above ten thousand heavens." Again in 50, 479, 50: "St. Paul, scourged, insulted, and reviled everywhere, gloried in the fact as if he were walking in a triumphal procession and setting up trophies everywhere."

It is hardly necessary to call attention to the bad taste and artificiality of the instances of the paradox and hyperbole noted above. Both the oxymoron and the hyperbole are not the exact expression of an extraordinary situation, or of moderate sentiment; on the contrary, their tendency is to distort the just proportions of the facts exposed. Together they form one of the

[10] On Gregory Nazianzen's even more extreme treatment of the same subject cf. Guignet, 244 ff.

most objectionable and unartistic traits of sophistic rhetoric, as we shall point out frequently in the course of this study.

We have in this chapter reviewed some of the minor figures employed by the rhetors to embellish their style, and have noted the prominent place they hold in the rhetorical system of Chrysostom. We shall now proceed to examine a class of figures which even to a greater extent illustrate the sophistic tendencies of Chrysostom.

CHAPTER IV

SYMMETRY OF THE PERIOD: THE GORGIANIC FIGURES

The figures reviewed in the preceding chapter have not a very great artistic value as compared with the so-called *Gorgianic figures,* the *parison,* the *antithesis,* and the *homoioteleuton.* These Gorgianic figures are the main factors which contribute to parallelism and symmetry of the period, a distinctive feature of Greek prose, and notably of oratorical prose. The excessive employment of these figures was one of the prevailing vices of the Asiatic and later of the sophist orators. Chrysostom shares this weakness. His desire for symmetrical periods makes him at times very diffuse, and some of his series of parisa are of tedious length and monotonous uniformity.

The *parison* presents two or more successive cola having the same general structure, often with an exact correspondence between the respective parts of the cola, *e. g.:*

With homoioteleuton, 50, 531, 13:

ὅπου μαρτύρων μνήμη,
ἐκεῖ καὶ Ἑλλήνων αἰσχύνη.

With parallelism of ideas, 50, 575, 10:

ἀποστῆναι μὲν τῆς εὐσεβείας,
αὐτομολῆσαι δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀσέβειαν.

With paronomasia and homoioteleuton, 50, 616, 57:

οὐ τοσοῦτον τῷ κήρυκι φθόνων,
ὅσον τῷ κηρυττομένῳ βασκαίνων.

With asyndeton, homoioteleuton at the beginning, and parechesis, 50, 531, 19:

ἀνάρρηξον τὰς θήκας,
ἀνόρρυξον τὰ ὀστᾶ,
μετάστησον τοὺς νεκρούς.

Observe the fourfold hyperbaton, and at the end of the *κόμματα* four synonyms, three of which are alliterative, 50, 483, 28:

ἡ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν μάχη,
ὁ περὶ τὴν γαστέρα πόλεμος,
ἡ πρὸς τὴν φιλαργυρίαν παράταξις,
ἡ πρὸς τὸν θυμὸν πάλη.

The repetition of *πάντα* at the head of the pairs of synonyms gives to this remarkable enumeration the character of a parison, 52, 415, 27:

Πάντα θορύβων γέμει καὶ ταραχῆς,
πάντα σκόπελοι καὶ κρημνοὶ,
πάντα ὕφαλοι καὶ σπιλάδες,
πάντα φόβοι καὶ κίνδυνοι καὶ ὑπόψιαι καὶ τρόμοι καὶ ἀγωνίαι.

With contrast of ideas and homoioteleuton, 50, 476, 39:

τοῦ μὲν ἡ οἰκία πάντι ἐλθόντι ἀνέῳκτο,
τοῦ δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ πάσῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ἤπλωτο.

In the following description of Lazarus coming out of the tomb, note the polysyndeton and homoioteleuton, 50, 643, 54:

καὶ ὁ διαλελυμένος ὠρθοῦτο,
καὶ ὁ σεσηπὼς ἠσθάνετο·
ὁ νεκρὸς ὑπήκουεν,
καὶ ὁ δεσμώτης ἔτρεχεν,
καὶ ὁ θρηνούμενος ἐσκίρτα.

With epanaphora and homoioteleuton, 52, 399, 49:

ὁ βουλόμενος ἀποτεμνέτω,
ὁ βουλόμενος λιθαζέτω,
ὁ βουλόμενος μισείτω.

With paronomasia, 50, 640, 45:

δύνανται γὰρ καὶ θῆκαι μαρτύρων πολλὴν ἔχειν δύναμιν,
ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν μαρτύρων πολλὴν ἔχει τὴν ἰσχύν.

Three words are repeated in the second colon, and a synonym is used for *δύναμιν* for the sole purpose of forming a parison.

Note the series of synonyms producing a strong parallelism of thought in the following, 49, 59, 54:

Ἐὰν μὴ πειρασμὸς, οὐδὲ στέφανος,
ἐὰν μὴ παλαίσματα, οὐδὲ βραβεῖα,
ἐὰν μὴ σκάμματα, οὐδὲ τιμαὶ,
ἐὰν μὴ θλῖψις, οὐδὲ ἄνεσις,
ἐὰν μὴ χειμῶν, οὐδὲ θέρος.

A very artificial period, with double epanaphora and climax, 52, 410, 10: On the various ways of life leading to salvation:

Οὐ δύνασαι διὰ παρθενίας εἰσελθεῖν; Εἴσελθε διὰ μονογαμίας.
Οὐ δύνασαι διὰ μονογαμίας; Κἂν διὰ δευτερογαμίας.
Οὐ δύνασαι διὰ σωφροσύνης εἰσελθεῖν; Εἴσελθε διὰ ἐλεημοσύνης.
Οὐ δύνασαι διὰ ἐλεημοσύνης; Εἴσελθε διὰ νηστείας.
Οὐ δύνασαι ταύτην; Δεῦρο ἐκείνην.
Οὐ δύνασαι ἐκείνην; Δεῦρο ταύτην.

A powerful series of rhetorical questions, the effect of which is heightened by double epanaphora with asyndeton, 56, 267, 6:

Οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν οἴκων ἀνατροπαί;
οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν σωφροσύνης ἀπώλεια;
οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν γάμων διαιρέσεις;
οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν πόλεμοι καὶ μάχαι;
οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν ἀηδίαι λόγον οὐκ ἔχουσαι;

With epanaphora and homoioteleuton in the two leading cola, 50, 621, 1:

Οὐχ ἑώρα παριεστῶτας δημίους,
ἀλλ' ἑώρα κυκλοῦντας ἀγγέλους,
ἐπελάθετο τῶν ὠδίνων,
κατεφρόνησε τῆς φύσεως,
ὑπερεῖδε τῆς ἡλικίας κτλ.

Prolonged symmetry, with perfect parallelism of cola, and polysyndeton, 50, 663, 26:

καὶ οὔτε οἰκέτην δεσπότου φόβος κατέσχεν,
οὔτε πένητα ἡ τῆς πτωχείας ἀνάγκη,
οὔτε γηραιὸν τῆς ἡλικίας ἡ ἀσθένεια,
οὔτε γυναῖκα τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἄπαλὸν,
οὔτε πλούσιον τῆς περιουσίας ὁ τῦφος,
οὐ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας ἡ ἀπόνοια.

Note also, 52, 443, 52, a parison consisting of 11 short κόμματα, with chiasmus in the two first members:

ἵνα μάθητε τὸν πόθον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας,
μάθητε τῶν ἐμῶν τέκνων τὴν εὐγένειαν,
τῶν στρατιώτων τὴν ἰσχύν κτλ.

Ordinarily the corresponding parts of the cola in a parison follow one another in the same order; however, at times Chrysostom shifts or reverses the order of words, thus producing a less rigid, but more elegant and varied parallelism. This device is called chiasmus, *e. g.*, 52, 395, 29: ἡ πέτρα γέγονε βαθύγειος, καὶ λιπαρὰ ἡ χώρα. 49, 395, 33: Εἰ καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἓν, ἀλλὰ διπλοῦν τὸ νοούμενον.

Note how the position of the adjective and its noun is shifted in the following example: 52, 407, 27: Εἰ μέγας ὁ θησαυρὸς, διὰ τί τὸ σκεῦος ἀσθενές; Ἀλλὰ μὴ διὰ τοῦτο ἀσθενὲς τὸ σκεῦος, ἐπειδὴ μέγας ὁ θησαυρός.

Note the position of the adverbs in 52, 403, 19: Ῥήματά ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα, ἐκεῖ δὲ πραγμάτων φύσις.

We cite a period each member of which is composed of a verb (A), and its object complement (B), 52, 443, 38:

A. B. Ἐξέβαλες τὸν ποιμένα,
B. A. τί τὴν ἀγέλην διέσπασας;
A. B. Ἀπέστησας τὸν κυβερνήτην,
B. A. τί τοὺς οἴακας κατέκλασας;
B. A. Τὸν ἀμπελουργὸν ἐξέβαλες,
B. A. τί τὰς ἀμπέλους ἀνέσπασας;

We need hardly call attention to the rhythm and geometrical design of this series of rhetorical questions, rendered more forcible by asyndeton.

The following period shows Chrysostom's virtuosity in the enumeration of *κόμματα*, a fine illustration of the choppy style of the Asiatic school; 50, 485, 24, on St. Paul:

Καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν γεννήσας,
οὕτως ἐθορυβεῖτο, οὕτως ἔτρεχεν,
οὕτω πάντας ἐσπούδαζεν εἰσαγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν,
θεραπεύων, παρακαλῶν, ὑπισχνούμενος, εὐχόμενος, ἱκετεύων,
τοὺς δαίμονας φοβῶν, τοὺς διαφθείροντας ἐλαύνων,
διὰ παρουσίας, διὰ γραμμάτων, διὰ ῥημάτων,
διὰ πραγμάτων, διὰ μαθητῶν,
δι' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς πίπτοντας ἀνορθῶν, τοὺς ἑστῶτας στηρίζων,
διεγείρων τοὺς χαμαὶ κειμένους,
θεραπεύων τοὺς συντετριμμένους,
ἀλείφων τοὺς ῥαθυμοῦντας,
φοβερὸν ἐμβοῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς,
δριμὺ βλέπων ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις·
καθάπερ τις στρατηγὸς ἢ ἄριστος ἰατρὸς,
αὐτὸς σκευοφόρος, αὐτὸς ὑπασπιστὴς, αὐτὸς ὑπερασπιστὴς, αὐτὸς
παραστάτης,
αὐτὸς πάντα γινόμενος τῷ στρατοπέδῳ.

Such periods are exceptional in Chrysostom, but frequent in Gregory Nazianzen.[1]

The following is a highly artificial period, with almost perfect symmetry of cola, concluding with a threefold arsis, in which three verbs of the preceding cola are repeated; it is a fine example of pleonasm, the six cola being variations of one idea, which

[1] Cf. Norden, 566.

is powerfully emphasized by the arsis. Also note the homoioteleuton, 49, 59, 27:

Διὰ τοῦτο εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν,
ὅτι οὐκ ἤλεγξεν ὑμῶν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἡ συμφορὰ,
οὐδὲ ἐξέλυσεν ὑμῶν τὸν τόνον ὁ φόβος,
οὐδὲ ἔσβεσεν ὑμῶν τὴν προθυμίαν ἡ θλῖψις,
οὐδὲ ἐμάρανεν ὑμῶν τὸν ζῆλον ὁ κίνδυνος,
οὐδὲ ἐνίκησε τὸν περὶ Θεὸν πόθος ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φόβος,
οὐδὲ κατέβαλεν ὑμῶν τὴν σπουδὴν ἡ τοῦ καιροῦ δυσκολία.
καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐ κατέβαλεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπέρρωσεν,
οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐξέλυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπέτεινεν,
οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἔσβεσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνῆψε πλέον.

To illustrate Chrysostom's fondness for symmetrical periods, we refer to his discourse *On the Holy Martyrs,* where we found a long series of parisa extending from 50, 710, 45—711, 21, containing fourteen cases of arsis; also to a series of twenty-seven successive clauses of parallel structure, grouped in three periods, 49, 399, 31—51, in the discourse *On the Cross and the Robber.*

The comparison furnishes Chrysostom a welcome occasion for a display of parallelism, as exemplified in the following descriptive and poetical contrast between a garden and the Holy Scriptures. A musical effect is imparted by the double epanaphora and an occasional homoioteleuton, 52, 396, 65:

Ἐκεῖ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἄνθη μαραινόμενα,
ἐνταῦθα δὲ νοήματα ἀκμάζοντα·
ἐκεῖ ζέφυρος πνέων,
ἐνταῦθα δὲ Πνεύματος αὔρα·
ἐκεῖ ἄκανθαι τειχίζουσαι,
ἐνταῦθα δὲ πρόνοια Θεοῦ ἡ ἀσφαλιζομένη·
ἐκεῖ τέττιγες ᾄδοντες,
ἐνταῦθα δὲ προφῆται κελαδοῦντες·
ἐκεῖ τέρψις ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως,
ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὠφέλεια ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως· κτλ.

In the following comparison on the tortures of the martyrs, Chrysostom selects two different aspects of the subject, in order to develop a double comparison, the elements of which exhibit a strong contrast and symmetrical structure. The parallelism is alternative, therefore more artistic, 50, 706, 48:

Ἂν μὲν τῶν γινομένων τὴν φύσιν ἴδῃς,
μάχη καὶ πόλεμος καὶ παράταξις τὰ γινόμενα·
ἂν δὲ τὴν γνώμην τῶν γινομένων ἐξετάσῃς,
χοραὶ καὶ θαλίαι καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ μεγίστη ἡδονὴ τὰ τελούμενα.

Note the chiasmus in the two subordinate clauses, the synonyms, and the double homoioteleuton.

This last example illustrates the most artistic form of parison, namely, *the antithetical parison,* which expresses a contrast of ideas. The sophists set a high value on this figure, because it contributes to clearness and pleasure. Moreover, if we bear in mind that the character of Christian doctrine strongly favors the antithetical expression of thought, and that the Old as well as the New Testament abounds in antitheses, we can understand Chrysostom's preference for this figure. He is, however, more moderate in its use than Gregory Nazianzen.[2]

We quote only the more remarkable instances found in Chrysostom. Note the pleonasm produced by the four pairs of synonyms in 52, 396, 25:

Ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸν ὠμὸν καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον ἀποστρέφεται καὶ μισεῖ,
οὕτω τὸν ἐλεήμονα καὶ φιλάνθρωπον προσίεται καὶ φιλεῖ.

A series of four antitheses with chiasmus, 52, 417, 10:

ἐν ταῖς εὐημερίαις, ἔλπιζε τὰς δυσημερίας·
ἐν τῇ γαλήνῃ χειμῶνα προσδόκα·
ἐν τῇ ὑγείᾳ νόσον ἀνάμενε·
ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ πενίαν καὶ πτωχείαν ἔλπιζε.

The artistic effect is highest when there is parallelism of structure in complex cola, the respective parts of which are antithetical, *e. g.,* 50, 596, 15:

Ὥστε ἅπασι χρήσιμος ὁ θησαυρὸς,
ἐπιτήδειον τὸ καταγώγιον,
τοῖς μὲν ἐπταικόσιν, ἵνα ἀπαλλαγῶσι τῶν πειρασμῶν,
τοῖς δὲ εὐημεροῦσιν, ἵνα βέβαια αὐτοῖς μείνῃ τὰ καλά·
τοῖς μὲν ἐν ἀρρωστίᾳ, ἵνα πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἐπανέλθωσι,
τοῖς δὲ ὑγιαίνουσιν, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς ἀρρωστίαν καταπέσωσιν.

Another finely balanced period occurs in 50, 692, 43:

Ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐεργετουμένων,
καὶ οἱ μηδὲν παθόντες συνήδονται τοῖς παθοῦσι,
καὶ τὸν εὖ ποιήσαντα ἐπαινοῦσιν·
οὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπηρεαζομένων
καὶ οἱ μηδὲν ἠδικημένοι συναλγοῦσι τοῖς κακῶς πεπονθόσι,
καὶ τὸν ποιήσαντα κακίζουσι.

[2] Cf. Guignet, 122 ff.

A symmetrical period in a contrast between the grave of Lazarus and the graves of the holy martyrs Domnina, Bernice, and Prosdoce occurs, 50, 644, 4:

Τάφος ἐκεῖ καὶ τάφος ἐνταῦθα·
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τοῦ Λαζάρου τάφος ἀνοιγόμενος
τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ δύναμιν ἐμφανίζει,
ὁ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν τάφος κεκλεισμένος καὶ ἐνεργῶν
τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος χάριν κηρύττει·
ἐκεῖ νεκρὸς ὑπὲρ φύσιν τὸν τάφον ἐκτρέχων,
ἐνταῦθα γυναῖκες παρὰ φύσιν τοῖς τάφοις προστρέχουσιν·
ἐκεῖ θείας δυνάμεως σημεῖον
ἐνταῦθα προαιρέσεως γενναίας τεκμήριον·

(Here two cola of the text are mutilated)

ἐκεῖ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον ἀναβίωσις, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ζωή·
ἐκεῖ θάνατος βιαίως λῃστεύεται,
ἐνταῦθα θάνατος προδήλως πατεῖται.

Note the double epanaphora, double polyptoton, paronomasia, homoioteleuton, and chiasmus in the above.

Contrast between truth and error, 50, 496, 5:

Τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἡ πλάνη, καὶ μηδένος ἐνοχλοῦντος, καταρρεῖ,
τοιοῦτον ἡ ἀλήθεια, καὶ πολλῶν πολεμούντων, διεγείρεται.

On the vicissitudes of life, 50, 599, 4:

ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς εὐημερίας πρὸς τὸ ὕψος ἐπῄρθη,
ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ δυσπραγίας εἰς πολὺ κατηνέχθη βάθος.

Note the hyperbaton in the second colon.

Contrast between the hardships of this earthly life and the rewards of the life eternal, 50, 667, 58:

Διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν πόνους συνεκλήρωσε τῷ βραχεῖ καὶ προσκαίρῳ αἰῶνι.
τοὺς δὲ στεφάνους ἐταμιεύσατο τῷ ἀγήρῳ καὶ ἀθανάτῳ.

The purpose for which God grants riches is expressed in this antithetical arsis, 49, 43, 44:

οὐχ ἵνα κατακλείσῃς ἐπὶ ὀλέθρῳ τῷ σῷ,
ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐκχέῃς ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ σῇ.

The fickleness of wealth, 49, 41, 37:

σήμερον μετὰ σοῦ,
καὶ αὔριον κατὰ σοῦ.

The tree of Paradise and the tree of the Cross, 49, 396, 36:

Περὶ τὸ δένδρον κατηγωνίσατο τὸν Ἀδὰμ ὁ διάβολος·
περὶ τὸν σταυρὸν κατεπάλαισε τὸν διάβολον ὁ Χριστός·
καὶ ξύλον τὸ μὲν ἔπεμπεν εἰς ᾅδην,
τὸ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπελθόντας ἐκεῖθεν ἀνεκαλεῖτο.
Πάλιν ξύλον τὸ μὲν τὸν αἰχμάλωτον γυμνὸν ἔκρυψε,
τὸ δὲ τὸν νικέτην γυμνὸν ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ πᾶσιν ἐδείκνυ.

The consequences of the death of Adam contrasted with the effects of Christ's death, *ib.*, 43:

Καὶ θάνατος ὁ μὲν τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν κατέκρινεν,
ὁ δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένους ἀνέστησε.

The corporal and spiritual death and resurrection of man contrasted with the death and resurrection of Christ. Note the double antistrophe, the threefold paronomasia, polyptoton, and the fourfold hyperbaton, 50, 438, 42:

Διπλοῦν ἀπεθάνομεν ἡμεῖς θάνατον,
οὐκοῦν διπλῆν προσδοκήσωμεν τὴν ἀνάστασιν;
Αὐτὸς ἁπλοῦν ἀπέθανε θάνατον,
διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἁπλῆν ἀνέστη ἀνάστασιν.

Our burial with Christ in Baptism, and our resurrection with Christ through Baptism (*Rom.* VI, 4); note the homoioteleuton at the beginning, and the polyptoton at the end of the cola, 50, 439, 7:

συνετάφημεν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ Βαπτίσματι,
καὶ συνηγέρθημεν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ Βαπτίσματος.

The lot of Adam contrasted with that of Job, 52, 400, 6:

Τί ὠφέλησεν ἐκεῖνον ὁ παράδεισος;
ἢ τί ἔβλαψε τοῦτον ἡ κοπρία;

The death of Lazarus and of Dives, 49, 72, 33:

Τί τοίνυν παρέβλαψεν αὐτὸν τὸ βιαίως ἀποθανεῖν;
τί δὲ τὸν πλούσιον ὤνησε τὸ μὴ βιαίως ἀποθανεῖν;

Note the chiasmus.

The Church's idea of a slave and a freeman; observe the double paronomasia and hyperbaton, 50, 437, 49:

ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον οἶδε δοῦλον ἡ Γραφὴ τὸν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ δεδουλωμένον.

Sacred Text: . . . .

καὶ ἐκεῖνον οἶδεν ἐλεύθερον τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς θείας χάριτος ἠλευθερωμένον.

St. Paul's apostolic labors; with paronomasia, 52, 409, 16:

τὰς ἀκάνθας ἀνατέμνων τῆς ἀσεβείας,
τὰ σπέρματα καταβάλλων τῆς εὐσεβείας.

The grandeur and perpetual youth of the Church, 52, 402, 6:

Τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑψηλοτέρα ἐστὶ,
τῆς γῆς πλατυτέρα ἐστίν.
Οὐδέποτε γηρᾷ,
ἀεὶ δὲ ἀκμάζει.

St. Timothy's solicitude about his soul and his mortification of the flesh; note the hyperbaton in the last colon, 49, 21, 26:

Ἀσθενείτω, φησὶ, τὸ σῶμα,
καὶ μὴ ἀσθενείτω ἡ ψυχὴ,
χαλινούσθω ἡ σὰρξ,
καὶ μὴ ἐμποδιζέσθω ὁ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν τῆς ψυχῆς δρόμος.

The hospitality of Job contrasted with the spiritual charity of St. Paul, 50, 476, 29:

Ἃ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος περὶ τοὺς τὴν σάρκα πεπηρωμένους ἐπεδείκνυτο,
ταῦτα οὗτος περὶ τοὺς τὴν ψυχὴν λελωβημένους ἔπραττε.

Contrast between the Feast of the Ascension and Pentecost; note the κύκλος and the chiasmus, 50, 456, 40:

Καὶ γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἡ ἡμετέρα πρὸ δέκα ἡμέρων εἰς τὸν θρόνον ἀνέβη τὸν βασιλικὸν,
καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κατέβη σήμερον πρὸς τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἡμετέραν.

The bounty of the Master and the perfidy of Judas, 49, 389, 31:

Ὁ Δεσπότης ἔτρεφε,
καὶ ὁ δοῦλος ἐπίπρασκεν.

Jesus betrayed and Judas the betrayer, 49, 381, 61:

Ὁ μὲν γὰρ προδοθεὶς Ἰησοῦς τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔσωσεν,
ὁ δὲ προδοὺς Ἰούδας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἀπώλεσε·
καὶ ὁ μὲν προδοθεὶς Ἰησοῦς ἐν δεξᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς κάθηται,
ὁ δὲ προδοὺς Ἰούδας ἐν ᾅδου νῦν ἐστι.

The self-abasement of the God-man is expressed in 52, 406, 10:

Κεῖται ἐν φάτνῃ ὁ τὴν οἰκουμένην βαστάζων,
καὶ ἐσπαργάνωται ὁ πάντα περιέπων.

Contrast between man and God, whom he is bidden to call Father, 51, 44, 21:

ὁ γήϊνος τὸν οὐράνιον,
ὁ θνητὸς τὸν ἀθάνατον,
ὁ φθαρτὸς τὸν ἄφθαρτον,
ὁ πρόσκαιρος τὸν αἰώνιον,
ὁ χθὲς καὶ πρώην πηλὸς, τὸν ὄντα πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων θεόν.

The antithesis degenerates at times into the paradox. As already noted in our last chapter, this figure tends to produce obscurity rather than clearness, because it contrasts terms which are only apparently, but not really contradictory; *e. g.,* note this paradox on wealth, 52, 399, 2:

Θηρίον ἐστὶν ὁ πλοῦτος·
ἂν μὲν κατέχηται, φεύγει·
ἂν δὲ σκορπίζηται, μένει.

In confirmation(!) of this statement, Chrysostom cites *Ps.* 111, 9: Ἐσκόρπισε γὰρ, φησὶν, ἔδωκε τοῖς πένησιν, ἡ δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Then he resumes the paradox:

Σκόρπισον, ἵνα μείνῃ·
μὴ κατορύξῃς, ἵνα μὴ φύγῃ.

This is the kind of verbal jugglery to which the sophist rhetors sometimes resorted in order to obtain an oxymoron. Chrysostom has applied the two verbs, which in the Sacred Text pertain to two different terms, to one term, *i. e.,* wealth.

On the peace of soul that results from the reading of Holy Scripture, 52, 397, 13:

Ἡ θάλασσα μαίνεται,
σὺ δὲ μετὰ γαλήνης πλέεις.

With reference to *Matth.* XI, 12: "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence," 52, 401, 50:

Τί ἁρπάζεις τὸν πένητα τὸν ἐγκαλοῦντα;
Ἅρπασον τὸν Χριστὸν τὸν ἐπαινοῦντα.

Human nuptials and the nuptials with Christ, 52, 402, 28:

Ὦ καινῶν καὶ παραδόξων πραγμάτων,
Γάμος παρ' ἡμῖν παρθενίαν λύει,
γάμος παρὰ Θεῷ παρθενίαν ἀνέστησε.
Παρ' ἡμῖν ἡ οὖσα παρθένος, γαμουμένη, οὐκ ἔστι παρθένος·
παρὰ Χριστῷ ἡ οὖσα πόρνη, γαμουμένη, παρθένος γέγονεν.

God's desire and man's lust, 52, 405, 37:

ἡ ἐπιθυμία τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀπώλεια τῆς ἐπιθυμουμένης·
ἡ δὲ ἐπιθυμία τοῦ Θεοῦ, σωτηρία τῇ ἐπιθυμουμένῃ.

Persecution can not destroy the flock of Christ nor the branches of the Vine, 50, 616, 33:

ἐπὶ γῆς τὸ ποίμνιον, καὶ ὁ ποιμαίνων ἐν οὐρανῷ·
ἐπὶ γῆς αἱ κληματίδες, καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἡ ἄμπελος·
ἂν δὲ ἐκτέμῃς τὰς κληματίδας, πολυπλασιάζεις τὴν ἄμπελον.

Note the chiasmus.

Contrast between real war and the spiritual warfare against the heretics, 50, 701, 1:

τοιοῦτος γὰρ ἡμῶν ὁ πόλεμος·
οὐκ ἀπὸ ζώντων νεκροὺς ἐργάζεται,
ἀλλ' ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ζῶντας κατασκευάζει.

Death of the body and death of the soul, 49, 71, 42:

Οὐκ οἶσθα, ὅτι
οἱ ἐν ἁμαρτίαις ὄντες, κἂν ζῶσιν, ἀπέθανον·
οἱ δὲ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ζῶντες, κἂν ἀποθάνωσι, ζῶσι;

Contrast between the waters of Creation and the waters of Baptism, 50, 439, 42:

Ἐξήγαγε τότε τὰ ὕδατα ἰχθύας ἀλόγους καὶ ἀφώνους,
ἐξέβαλε νῦν ἰχθύας λογικοὺς καὶ πνευματικούς,
ἰχθύας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἁλιευθέντας.

The method of the ordinary fishermen and that of the spiritual fishermen, 50, 439, 48:

οἱ ἁλιεύοντες ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐκβάλλουσιν,
ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ὕδατα ἐνεβάλλομεν,
καὶ οὕτως ἡλιεύσαμεν.

Note the polyptoton and paronomasia in the above.

The spiritual victory of the martyrs is represented in this series of paradoxes, 50, 708, 11:

Τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐκπλαγείη, ὅτι
ὁ μαστιζόμενος περιγέγεται τοῦ μαστίζοντος,
ὁ δεδεμένος τοῦ λελυμένου,
ὁ κατακαιόμενος τοῦ καίοντος,
ὁ ἀποθνήσκων τοῦ ἀναιροῦντος;

The power of death and the weakness of man before the Redemption contrasted with the strength of man and the weakness of death which is a result of Christ's victory over death, 50, 629, 61:

Οὐδὲν ἰσχυρότερον ἐκείνου τὸ πρότερον, ἀγαπητὲ,
καὶ οὐδὲν ἀσθενέστερον ἡμῶν·
ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀσθενέστερον ἐκείνου,
καὶ οὐδὲν ἰσχυρότερον ἡμῶν.
Εἶδες πῶς ἀρίστη ἡ μετάστασις γέγονε;
πῶς τὰ ἰσχυρὰ ἀσθενῆ ἐποίησε,
καὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ ἰσχυρὰ κατεσκεύασεν ὁ Θεός . . . .;

This kind of antithesis was called conversio.

Thus we have seen that Christian dogma favored and, to some extent, justified the employment of certain figures, the sophistic

character of which is generally recognized. The antithesis is one of these. Chrysostom as a rule is moderate and discreet in its employment, and it imparts clearness to his exposition of doctrine. Occasionally, however, he formulates antitheses which are only verbal and not real, but such instances are exceptional.

There is one more rhetorical device, classed among the Gorgianic figures, which the rhetors regarded as the complement of artistic symmetry, and that is the *homoioteleuton,* a kind of rhyme, produced by the recurrence of the same final syllables at the end of succeeding cola. It is a musical and poetical element of style, and its effect is very marked, especially when it is combined with other Gorgianic figures. Chrysostom uses it lavishly as well in asyndetic *κόμματα* as in lengthy cola. We have already cited numerous instances in this chapter. The assonance of final syllables is evident in the following examples: 56, 267, 4:

τὰ ῥήματα, τὰ βλέμματα, τὰ σχήματα, ἡ βάδισις, ὁ ῥυθμὸς, ἡ διάκρισις, τὰ μέλη τὰ πορνικά.

52, 409, 20: *Πρὸς Θρᾷκας, πρὸς Σκύθας, πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς, πρὸς Μαύρους, πρὸς Σαρδονίους, πρὸς Γοτθοὺς, πρὸς θηρία ἄγρια, καὶ μετέβαλη πάντα.*

50, 494, 17: *ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρημίας, ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων, ἀπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλευόντων, καὶ . . . . ἐξαγριούντων, καὶ . . . . ἐπιτιθεμένων.*

49, 40, 51:

οὐ γὰρ περιεσκόπει τὴν τοῦ δεῖνος οἰκίαν,
οὐδὲ περιειργάζετο τὴν τοῦ δεῖνος οὐσίαν.

Here two pair of synonyms are employed, and *τοῦ δεῖνος* is repeated for the sole reason of formulating a parison with homoioteleuton. The same design is apparent in many of the examples cited in this chapter.

50, 645, 42:

Εἰ γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὰ θέατρα μεμηνότες,
καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἵππων ἅμιλλαν κεχηνότες.

In the following instance the hyperbaton produces a homoioteleuton also at the beginning; note the assonance of endings in the middle of the cola, 50, 531, 23:

Ξένους ὁ δαίμων τυμβωρυχίας εἰσάγει νόμους,
καὶ καινοὺς ξενηλασίας ἐπινοεῖ τρόπους.

In the following example there is an excessive use of assonance in final syllables, 52, 396, 25:

Ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸν ὠμὸν καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον ἀποστρέφεται καὶ μισεῖ,
οὕτω τὸν ἐλεήμονα καὶ φιλάνθρωπον προσίεται καὶ φιλεῖ.

52, 411, 48:

εἰς τὰ παρόντα, καὶ εἰς τὰ μέλλοντα·
εἰς τὰ ὁρώμενα, καὶ εἰς τὰ ἀκουόμενα·
εἰς τὰ δεδομένα, καὶ εἰς τὰ πιστευόμενα.

52, 401, 41:

Τῶν ἀλλοτρίων μὴ ἐπιθύμει,
τὴν χήραν μὴ γυμνώσῃς,
τὸν ὄρφανον μὴ ἁρπάσῃς,
τὴν οἰκίαν μὴ λάβῃς

The effect of the homoioteleuton is heightened by epanaphora in 50, 599, 11:

Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ μεταβολῆς εἰκῶν
οὐκ ἔστι τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα,
πάντα δὲ πεπηγότα καὶ ἀκίνητα,
πάντα βέβαια καὶ ἱδρυμένα,
πάντα ἄφθαρτα καὶ ἀθάνατα
πάντα ἀκήρατα καὶ ἀεὶ διαμένοντα.

The following prolonged series of homoioteleuta is part of a passage quoted in our second chapter (p. 26), in which Chrysostom denounces those preachers who "idly busy themselves about beautiful expressions and the composition and harmony of their sentences, in order that they may please, not profit" their hearers. This example well illustrates that Chrysostom's theory is sometimes at variance with his practice, 60, 226, 12:

ὅπως ἥσωμεν, οὐχ ὅπως ὠφελήσωμεν,
ὅπως θαυμασθῶμεν, οὐχ ὅπως διδάξωμεν,
ὅπως τέρψωμεν, οὐχ ὅπως κατανύξωμεν,
ὅπως κροτηθῶμεν, καὶ ἐπαίνου τυχόντες ἀπέλθωμεν,
οὐχ ὅπως τὰ ἤθη ῥυθμίσωμεν.

Assonance of the final syllables at the beginning of the cola heightens the effect of this series of homoioteleuta, 50, 447, 54:

ὅταν καὶ ὄνων ἀναισθητότεροι,
καὶ βοῶν ἀλογώτεροι,
καὶ χελιδόνος καὶ τρυγόνος ἀγνωμονέστεροι,
καὶ μυρμήκων ἀσυνετώτεροι,
καὶ λίθων ἀναισθητότεροι,
καὶ ὄφεων ἴσοι φαινώμεθα.

A similar series occurs, 51, 44, 38.

A very long series of rhetorical questions and answers on the sufferings and the fortitude of Job, forming the figure called hypophora, occurs in 52, 400, 9. The artistic effect of the numerous homoioteleuta is increased by the parisa and double epanaphora. Note the chiasmus in the last six cola, which is designed to relieve the monotony of this excessively long series of parisa:

Οὐ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ ἔλαβεν;
Ἀλλὰ τὴν εὐσέβειαν οὐκ ἐσύλησεν.
Οὐ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ ἥρπασεν;
Ἀλλὰ τὴν πίστιν οὐκ ἐσάλευσεν.
Οὐ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ διέρρηξεν;
Ἀλλὰ τὸν θησαυρὸν οὐχ εὗρεν.
Οὐ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ὤπλισεν;
Ἀλλὰ τὸν στρατιώτην οὐχ ὑπεσκέλισεν.
Οὐκ ἔβαλε τόξα καὶ βέλη;
Ἀλλὰ τραύματα οὐκ ἐδέξατο.
Προσήγαγε μηχανήματα,
ἀλλὰ τὸν πύργον οὐκ ἔσεισεν;
ἐπήγαγε κύματα,
ἀλλὰ τὸ πλοῖον οὐ κατεπόντισε.

Another series of homoioteleuta of monotonous length occurs 52, 408, 55:

χωλοὺς διώρθου, γυμνοὺς ἐνέδυε, νεκροὺς ἤγειρε,
λεπροὺς ἐκαθάριζε, διάβολον ἐπεστόμιζε, δαίμονας ἀπέπνιγε,
τῷ Θεῷ διελέγετο, Ἐκκλησίαν ἐφύτευσε, ναοὺς κατέσκαψε,
βωμοὺς ἀνέτρεψε, τὴν κακίαν ἔλυσε, τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐφύτευσε,
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀγγέλους ἐποίησε.

We close this chapter on the Gorgianic figures with the conviction that Chrysostom's sophistic education has left a deep impression on his style, that manifests itself in well-balanced periods of symmetrical structure, some of which exhibit a sharp contrast of thought, and to which a musical rhythm is imparted by the homoioteleuton. In addition, we have observed that these figures are often combined with epanaphora, antistrophe, paronomasia, arsis, and asyndeton, and that, in order to obtain parisa, Chrysostom often has recourse to pleonasm. Chrysostom manipulates these very artificial refinements of style with the ease and sure skill of a master, and with a fondness that makes him exceed at times the limits of artistic moderation.

CHAPTER V

THE METAPHOR

We have had ample opportunity in the preceding pages to note that one of the salient features of sophistic rhetoric is its love for showy ornament. To the sophist an idea was serviceable and good only in as far as it lent itself to oratorical embellishment.

Now, there is perhaps no figure of speech better calculated to give a rich color to style than the metaphor. It easily takes first rank among the tropes, to which class it is assigned by the rhetoricians. The metaphor signifies the transfer of a word from its literal or accepted meaning to a figurative sense.

Skilfully and discreetly employed it forms one of the most attractive graces of style. But as in the case of other rhetorical devices, so here also the sophists were not content to remain within the bounds of sobriety and true art. Hermogenes remarks [1] that the excessive use of tropes was one of the vices of the *ὑπόξυλοι σοφισταί.*

The oratory of the pulpit, more than any other, demands the use of metaphorical language. It is the preacher's task to make the abstract and spiritual ideas of theology in some sort tangible to his audience by giving to these ideas color and substance and sensible qualities. If this is true in general, it applies with double force to the eastern peoples, who are more imaginative than the nations of the west. Chrysostom was himself an Oriental, endowed with a rich and bold fancy. He realized that, in order to reach his hearers, he must needs appeal to their imaginative sense, and lead them to the perception of the immaterial by illustrations from the material. And indeed, a cursory glance at his sermons will show that he is most lavish in the employment of metaphors. It was the rich imagery of his style which above all fascinated his oriental audience, and helped to make him the most popular orator of the Eastern Church.

However, this gift of graphic representation, which constitutes one of the excellencies of his art, is likewise responsible for one of its most serious blemishes, an immoderate redundance of images. Like the quickly shifting colors of a kaleidoscope, they

[1] Spengel, *περὶ ἰδεῶν*, 292, 19 ff.

follow one another in rapid succession. There is no thought of selecting what is most suitable, and the main idea is often lost sight of in the long train of images that are intended to illustrate it. It is this fondness for images that especially reveals Chrysostom's intellectual kinship with the sophists. This kinship becomes still more evident as we behold the sophistic sources from which he draws many of his metaphors, and the distinctly sophistic qualities of others. Before treating these we shall class his metaphors under general heads.

The purpose of the metaphor is to materialize an idea, to make it in some sort visible to the eye. This is generally done by substituting the concrete for the abstract.

A very graphic example of the substitution of a concrete for an abstract idea occurs in 52, 394, 54, where the prosperity of the unfortunate Eutropius is depicted as "the harlot-face which a few days ago was radiant, looking uglier than any wrinkled old woman, and denuded of its enamel and pigments by the action of adversity as by a sponge." The Feast of Pentecost is styled, 50, 463, 48: "the metropolis of feasts." Youth is called, "a pyre quickly kindled," 49, 21, 18.

The abstract terms of philosophy and theology are materialized by joining them with a concrete verb, adjective, or noun, *e. g.*, 50, 266, 14: *πονηρίας βάραθρον*; 52, 395, 33: *τὸν στάχυν κομῶντα τῆς συμπαθείας*; 52, 443, 57: "the flower of liberty"; 52, 404, 26: *ἀναβαίνω τῷ πτερῷ τοῦ νοήματος*; 49, 37, 47: *ἑαυτοὺς πτερώσωμεν ταῖς ἐλπίσι*; 56, 267, 49: *κάμινον ἔρωτος . . . . περιφέρειν*; 50, 474, 17: *τὰς ἀκάνθας τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀνασπῶν, καὶ τὸν λόγον τῆς εὐσεβείας κατασπείρων*; 50, 615, 32: *τὸν χειμάρρουν τοῦ κηρύγματος*; 50, 573, 14: "the spark of religion"; 50, 468, 42: *τὰ ἄλογα τῆς διανοίας σκιρτήματα*.

A concrete idea is sometimes replaced by another concrete term which is more graphic, *e. g.*, having enumerated the past pleasures and honors of Eutropius, Chrysostom pictures them in a series of elegant metaphors, 52, 391, 48: "They were all mere visions of the night, and dreams which have vanished with the dawn of day: they were spring flowers, and when the spring was over they all withered: they were a shadow which has passed away—they were a smoke which has dispersed, bubbles which have burst, cobwebs which have been rent in pieces." St. Paul's voice is called, 49, 15, 1, "the celestial trumpet, the spiritual lyre." The bodies of the martyrs are termed, "springs, roots and ointments," 50, 600, 51. In 50, 505, 33, St. Paul is styled *τὸν ἀνδριάντα τῆς ἀρετῆς*; Eutropius, the fallen, fugitive consul of the Empire, is

called "a tree, stripped of all its leaves and shaken to its very roots by the storm of adversity," 52, 391, 37.

The names of animals are sometimes used to designate men, *e. g.*, the hope is expressed that Flavian, the bishop of Antioch, who had been sent to appease the wrath of the emperor Theodosius, will be able "to convert the lion into a mild lamb," 49, 49, 39. The Virgin-Martyrs Sts. Bernice and Prosdoce are represented as "two heifers that gladly bore the yoke of martyrdom," 50, 640, 30. St. Roman, Martyr, is represented as converting "gazelles and deer into bold lions" by his exhortations, 50, 609, 13. Similarly St. Paul is said to have made sheep out of wolves, and doves out of kites and hawks, 50, 474, 59. The same saint is described as falling "into the very jaws of the lion," *i. e.*, of wicked men, 50, 476, 20. The devil too is called "a wild beast," 50, 608, 13.

The boldest kind of metaphor consists in attributing life and action to inanimate objects, *e. g.*, 52, 444, 50: "What need of words? The rocks cry out, the walls send forth a voice." In 50, 496, 8, Chrysostom says: Καὶ ταῦτα αὐτὴ ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλήθεια βοᾷ, and he continues, "There is no need of words or speech, since the whole world everywhere sends forth a voice, the cities, the fields, the earth, the sea, the inhabited and desert places, yea, even the very mountain tops." In 50, 607, 20, the nature of disaster is said to be able to "incline even the rocks to pity." In 52, 392, 58, the horse-races are said to have whetted the sword against Eutropius.

There are certain metaphors, which, without being peculiar to the sophists, form part of the common literary property, being borrowed mostly from the poets, *e. g.*: 56, 265, 44: ποικίλος ἀστέρων . . . . χορός; 50, 647, 53: τῶν λίθων τὰς νιφάδας (Cf. Aesch. *Fr.* 199); 50, 475, 59: μυρίας νιφάδας πειρασμῶν; the marching in procession to the graves of the martyrs is called: χορεύειν, 50, 699, 50; the martyrs entering heaven are represented as joining the choir of the Blessed, who had been their συγχορεύται on earth, 50, 710, 43;[2] the plenitude of the Holy Spirit is designated as χορηγίαν, 52, 408, 48.

A metaphor that occurs frequently in some of the sophists is ὠδίνω, used in a figurative sense. Chrysostom applies the term to Julian the Apostate, plotting a persecution against the Christians: 50, 574, 1: ὠδίνοντος ἐκείνου τὸν πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν. He likewise describes the storm of persecution as: πικρά τινα ὠδίνων ναυάγια, 52, 549, 22.[3]

[2] Cf. Guignet, 139, on Gregory Nazianzen's use of the same term.
[3] Cf Guignet, 139.

The metaphors, however, which present strong evidence of Chrysostom's profane education are the so-called technical terms pertaining to military science, the athletic games, the hippodrome, and navigation. There can be no doubt as to their profane origin. Their popularity among all classes of Greek society was universal. Chrysostom in his liberal use of these terms rivals the most thoroughgoing of the rhetors.

1. *Metaphors borrowed from military science:*

The struggle of the soul against the flesh and its passions is styled, μάχη, πόλεμος, παράταξις, 50, 483, 26. Referring to the deacon John, surnamed Marcus, whom St. Paul refused to take with him on one of his journeys, because John had deserted him on a former occasion (*Acts,* XIII, 13; XV, 37, 38), Chrysostom says, 50, 508, 5: Διὸ καὶ δικαίως ἐξετέμνετο, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ τάξας ἑαυτὸν τῷ μετώπῳ τῆς φάλαγγος, σφόδρα ἀνάνδρως εἱστήκει. In Book IV *On the Priesthood,* Chrysostom demands that the Christian preacher be skilled in all the methods of warfare, in order to be able to repel the attacks of the enemies of the Church, and that he "be at once both archer and slinger, captain and general, in the ranks and in command, on foot and on horseback, in sea-fight and in siege," 48, 666, 24. The devil's attacks on Job, and the latter's victory are described thus, 52, 400, 13: "Did he not arm his wife against him? yes, but he did not overthrow the soldier. Did he not hurl arrows and darts at him? yes, but he received no wounds. He advanced his engines, but could not shake the tower; he conducted his billows against him, but did not sink the ship." Another group of military, naval, and athletic terms sets forth the victorious struggles of the Church, 52, 397, 60: "Such might has the Church: when she is assailed (πολεμουμένη) she conquers: . . . . she is wounded, yet sinks not under her wounds; tossed by waves, yet not submerged; vexed by storms, yet suffers no shipwreck; she wrestles and is not worsted, fights (πυκτεύει) but is not vanquished."

One of the persecutors of the Church is described thus, 50, 644, 29: τύραννος εἰς οὐρανὸν τοξεύειν ἐπιχειρῶν.[4] The mouths of the martyrs, speaking in defence of the Faith are styled quivers (βελοθήκη), bearing many arrows, which are shot at the demon's head, 50, 575, 52. Julian the Apostate, persecuting the Christians by covert methods, is represented as, τὸν πόλεμον ἀκροβολιζόμενος,

[4] Cf. Herod. IV, 94, who relates that the Getai, when it thundered and lightened, aimed their arrows at the sky, uttering threats against their god.

50, 573, 39. On Good Friday Chrysostom bids the faithful: *ἀλαλάξωμεν, καθάπερ στρατιῶται, τὴν ἐπινίκιον ᾠδήν*, 49, 396, 50.

2. Metaphors drawn from the athletic games:

The magnificent splendor of these religious festivals, regarded as events of national importance, and the enthusiastic admiration of the public for the victors of Olympia, who were celebrated in song and verse, lent to these figures that dramatic and epic color which was so eagerly coveted by the sophists. Taken over by the Christian panegyrists after the example of St. Paul (*Tim.* II, 4), they maintained in the religious domain their ancient popularity, and gradually became so common that they almost lost their figurative character, *ἀθλητής* and *ἀγωνιστής* becoming equivalent to martyr.

Job is called *μέγας ἀθλητής*, 50, 476, 11. St. Paul is described as, *πελάγει πυκτεύων καὶ λιμῷ . . . . καὶ κρυμῷ, καὶ πανταχοῦ ὑπὲρ τὰ σκάμματα πηδῶν*, 50, 475, 62. The religious services in honor of a martyr are termed *θεωρία ἀγωνισμάτων*, 50, 665, 5, and the faithful attend these services in order to learn *ἀγωνίζεσθαι, παγκρατιάζειν*. The martyrs are described as looking up with eager eyes to their *ἀγωνοθέτης* (*i. e.*, God), 50, 647, 51. St. Ignatius, Martyr, is styled *Ὀλυμπιονίκης*, 50, 606, 57, and God, who called him from Antioch to Rome, where he was martyred, is represented as, *μακροτέρους αὐτῷ τιθεὶς τοὺς διαύλους τοῦ δρόμου*, 50, 592, 40, and the Christians who met him on his journey *ἤλειφον τὸν ἀθλητήν*, *ib.* 49, and were consoled to see him so eagerly *ἐπὶ θάνατον τρέχοντα*, *ib.* 53. Chrysostom remarks that at the feasts of the rich one can see, *στάδιον καὶ ἅμιλλαν διαβολικήν*, 50, 435, 17, and that the rich man affords the devil many occasions for attack (*λαβάς*, grip, hold), 49, 45, 55. The devil is said to grapple with us (*συμπλέκεσθαι*), thus giving us opportunities to win crowns, 50, 441, 1. His own work of preaching and instructing the faithful Chrysostom characterizes thus: *ἀλείφοντες ὑμᾶς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν*, 50, 440, 44. Speaking of the great number of martyrs, he says: *πολλοὶ οἱ ἀνακηρυττόμενοι καὶ στεφανούμενοι*, 50, 587, 33, and, *ib.* 38: "they run the race of piety," and again, *ib.* 44: "both men and women strip for these contests (*πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀπεδύσαντο τούτους*). The angels and his six older brothers are described as looking down from heaven upon the glorious spectacle (*θέατρον*) of the martyrdom of the youngest of the Maccabees: "Like judges in the Olympic games they sat crowned, not acting as arbiters of the struggle, but exhorting the champion to win the crown," 50, 624, 26. The theatrical charac-

ter of these pagan images, which are applied with little propriety to the scenes of martyrdom, denotes strong sophistic influence.

The following metaphor on St. Ignatius, Martyr, 50, 588, 32, reveals the studied ingenuity of the sophist: "The grace of the Spirit has woven a triple garland and bound with it that sacred brow, or rather I should say, a manifold one, for if one would carefully unwind each single garland, it would be found putting forth many others. And if you will, I shall first come to the panegyric of his episcopacy. Does not this seem to be but one garland? Well, let us unwind it, and you shall see two, three, and even more garlands sprouting forth from it."

3. *Metaphors borrowed from the hippodrome:*

That the Greeks were possessed of a veritable mania for the horse and chariot races needs no proof. The popularity of this pastime would make metaphors drawn from that source very much appreciated. In his panegyric *On Sts. Juventinus and Maximinus, Martyrs,* 50, 571, 47, Chrysostom says: "Recently Blessed Babylas and the three youths gathered us here. Today a pair (ξυνωρίς, a pair of horses) of holy soldiers has marshalled in battle-array the host of Christ; τότε ἅρμα (*i. e.,* a team of four horses drawing a chariot: referring to St. Babylas, and the three Jewish youths who were thrown into the fiery furnace), νῦν ξυνωρὶς μαρτύρων." In his panegyric *On St. Pelagia, Virgin-Martyr,* 50, 579, 8: "Henceforth maidens of tender age can leap against the goads of Hades (*i. e.,* death) and suffer no harm." Relating how St. Timothy mortified his body, Chrysostom says: "The steed that was unmanageable and restive he curbed with much vehemence, until he had tamed him of his wanton tricks; until he had made him docile; and delivered him under entire control into the hands of that reason which is the charioteer," 49, 21, 22.

A similar metaphor, but much more elaborate, occurs in his sermon *Against the Games and the Theatres,* 56, 265, 28. The studious care with which Chrysostom works out the details of the image is characteristic of the sophists' method. Having rebuked the faithful for attending the chariot races on Good Friday, instead of coming to church, he says: "If you wished to see a race of irrational animals, why did you not yoke together your irrational passions, anger and concupiscence, and lay on them the yoke of philosophy, sweet and light, and give them for a charioteer right reason, and drive towards the goal of your heavenly vocation, not from vice to vice, but from earth to heaven? This kind

of chariot race, besides giving pleasure, would be very beneficial." This poetical picture is strongly reminiscent of Plato's famous illustration (*Phaedrus,* 246), in which Reason is represented as a charioteer driving a chariot drawn by two horses, one of an aspiring, the other of a base nature.

4. *Metaphors taken from the sea and from navigation:*

It is difficult to determine how far these metaphors are of profane origin, because we do not know to what extent they were current in the ecclesiastical literature of Chrysostom's time.

Poverty is called λιμὴν ἀκύμαντος καὶ τεῖχος ἀσφαλές, 52, 395, 18. To reach heaven with a rich store of merits is expressed thus: μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἐμπορίας εἰς ἐκεῖνον καταπλεῦσαι τὸν λιμένα, 50, 577, 5. *On St. Eustathius, Martyr:* "He has crossed the strait (εὔριπον) of life's cares, he is free from the tumult of the waves, he has sailed into the quiet and tranquil harbor . . . . as if standing on a rock or high cliff, he laughs at the waves," 50, 597, 63. The calamity at Antioch is called a χειμών, and the hope is expressed that God will soon restore the calm (γαλήνην), 49, 36, 34. The gathering of the faithful in church is termed: θάλαττα εὐρύχωρος ἐμπεπλησμένη, ἀλλ' οὐ ταραττομένη τῇ ζάλῃ τῶν ἀνέμων, 52, 435, 42. Chrysostom's farewell sermon to his flock on the eve of his first exile begins with the stirring metaphor: "Many are the billows, mighty is the swell; but we have no fear of being submerged, for we stand upon the rock. Let the sea rage, it cannot wash away the rock; let the billows roar, they cannot sink the bark of Jesus," 52, 427, 45. Referring to Theophilus of Alexandria, who together with other ecclesiastics had brought about his banishment, Chrysostom in the sermon on his return from exile says: οἱ ναῦται μεθ' ὑμῶν καθ' ὑμῶν γεγόνασιν, οἵτινες τὸν πόλεμον τῷ πλοίῳ κατεσκεύασεν, 52, 446, 45.

We have already noted as a sophistic trait of Chrysostom's art the theatrical tone of some of his metaphors describing the scenes of martyrdom as a sort of dramatic spectacle. This tendency appears also in his employment of the words δρᾶμα and τραγῳδία to denote scenes of a pathetic nature, and in his use of the term προσωπεῖον in a figurative sense, *e. g.,* the term τραγῳδία is applied, 49, 147, 54, to the sacrifice of Jephte's daughter (*Judg.* XI, 37); to the martyrdom of the Maccabees, 50, 621, 50; to the sentence pronounced on some criminals, 49, 138, 17. Speaking of those Christian women who, like St. Pelagia, took their lives to preserve their virginity, he says: "The time was full of such *dramas,*" 50, 580, 62. In a rhetorical apostrophe addressed to Abraham,

Chrysostom pretends to find fault with him for advising Sara to deceive the ruler of Egypt by representing herself as Abraham's sister, and exclaims: "You even weave a plot with your wife, and play a part with her in the drama of adultery (*συνυποκρίνῃ τὸ δρᾶμα τῆς ὕβρεως*)!" And a few lines further: "You prompt her to don the *mask* of a sister!" 50, 630, 53 ff. Referring to friends who proved false, he says: "They changed their *mask*," 52, 399, 15, and: "The actors were unmasked (*ἠλέγχθη τὰ προσωπεῖα*)," 52, 400, 37. In another place, 50, 531, 33: "The demon raised his mask and openly (*γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ*) took his stand against the received laws of nature."[5]

The straining after dramatic effect asserts itself in the following personification of Wealth as a disloyal servant, 49, 39, 35: "Nothing is so faithless as wealth; of which I have often said, and will not cease to say, that it is a runaway, thankless servant, having no fidelity; and should you throw over him ten thousand chains, he will make off dragging his chains after him. Frequently, indeed, have those who possessed him shut him up with bars and doors, placing their slaves round about for guards. But he has overpersuaded these very servants, and has fled away together with his guards; dragging his keepers after him like a chain, so little security was there in his custody." *Hom.* VIII *against the Anomoeans,* 48, 767, opens with this declamatory passage: "Yesterday we returned from the warfare and battle with the heretics bearing gory arms and the sword of the word blood-red, not from the slaughter of human bodies, but from the refutation of false reasonings."

A large contingent of Chrysostom's metaphors are taken from Sacred Scripture; such are the allegories referring to the Church as a flock of sheep, as a bride, a kingdom, as a body whose head is Christ, and whose members are the faithful; to the priest as a physician etc. These figures are beside the purpose of this study which aims to show only the profane and sophistic elements in Chrysostom's rhetoric. It is very interesting, however, to see how he transforms these figures, giving them a touch of the sensational and paradoxical, which is a distinctly sophistic trait. We have already referred to his bold and shocking metaphor which represents human nature as a harlot with God as her lover (p. 39). This allegory is probably borrowed from the Old Testament (*Jerem.* III; *Ezech.* XVI; *Osee* II and III), where the Jewish

[5] On Gregory of Nyssa, cf. Méridier, 108; on Gregory Nazianzen, Guignet, 148.

people in their disloyalty to God are likened to a prostitute. Chrysostom says verbatim (*Hom.* II *on Eutropius,* 52, 405, 29): ὁ τοσοῦτος καὶ τηλικοῦτος ἐπεθύμησε πόρνης. Πόρνης ἐπεθύμει ὁ Θεός; Ναὶ, πόρνης. He explains: "I speak of our human nature under that name." God is then described as coming to the harlot in order to convert her into a virgin by espousing her. The sequel reveals that Chrysostom is speaking of the mystery of the Incarnation, but the allegory is pursued with such sophistic boldness, that Chrysostom's caution to the faithful to understand it in a spiritual sense hardly mitigates the shocking character of the image. The latter is dropped for a while (*ib.* 406, 23), and human nature is represented successively as a plant placed in Paradise, as a sheep carried by the Shepherd, as a vessel of clay holding a treasure (*i. e.,* the Holy Spirit). After an interval of about one column the original figure is resumed (*ib.* 407, 39). Christ gives his Bride an earnest (ἀρραβῶνα), a dowry (προῖκα), gifts of betrothal (μνῆστρα) (*ib.* 408, 32). The frequent dialogues between Christ and his Bride give a strong dramatic color to this whole passage.

We have already, in the preceding pages (36 ff.), presented numerous examples showing how the metaphor is a fruitful source of the paradox. Here are some instances not yet quoted which will further illustrate this, *e. g.,* a series of metaphors on the banishment of St. Meletius from his see of Antioch, 50, 517, 20: "And indeed, what then took place was admirable (παράδοξον): The shepherd was expelled, but the sheep were not scattered; the pilot was ejected, but the bark did not sink; the husbandman was persecuted, but the vine bore more fruit!"

On the Egyptian Martyrs, 50, 697, 13: "And they were sentenced to the mines, to dig for metal, they who were more precious than gold, and possessors of a gold not material, nor dug up by the hands of convicts, but acquired by the labor of faithful Christians. εἰργάζοντο μέταλλα οἱ μυρίων γέμοντες θησαυρῶν."

On Sts. Juventinus and Maximinus, who were beheaded at midnight, 50, 576, 20: ἐν μέσῳ σκότει οἱ φωστῆρες ἐξήγοντο καὶ ἀπετέμνοντο. This is an artificial specimen. The metaphor φωστῆρες is introduced solely for the sake of a contrast with σκότει. There is also here a jumble of the metaphorical (φωστῆρες) with the literal sense (ἀπετέμνοντο).

The most strongly sophistic metaphor we have found in Chrysostom is Gorgias' notorious paradox of ἔμψυχοι τάφοι (for vul-

tures), already discussed among the oxymora (p. 36). Chrysostom applies the figure to the faithful, stating that they are "living graves" of St. Eustathius, Martyr.

The labored ingenuity of the rhetor is revealed in a far-fetched metaphor on St. Paul, 50, 474, 46. He is described in a contrast with Noe as saving the whole world in an ark which he constructed out of his epistles, using them instead of planks.

It is amusing to note the specious arguments with which Chrysostom tries to justify some of his exaggerated metaphors, *e. g.,* the mother of the Maccabees is extolled as having brought forth an entire Church of martyrs, 50, 622, 4: "The seven youths were only seven martyrs, and the body of their mother added to theirs was only one, but it was equivalent to twice seven martyrs, both because she suffered martyrdom with regard to each one, and because she rendered them martyrs (*i. e.,* by her exhortations). Thus we can truly say that she brought forth an entire Church of martyrs."

From the fact that God allowed St. Peter, whom he set to rule the whole world, and to whom he entrusted the keys of heaven, to tarry a long time at Antioch, Chrysostom concludes: "Thus our city appears as tantamount to the whole world." 50, 591, 50.

In his panegyric *On St. Roman, Martyr,* who, after his tongue had been plucked out, miraculously retained his speech and continued to reproach the tyrant, Chrysostom exclaims, 50, 614, 2: *θέαμα καινὸν καὶ παράδοξον· σάρκινος σαρκίνοις ἀσάρκως φθεγγόμενος.* Then he addresses the tongue as a "forerunner of the martyr," and breaks forth into a rhapsodic strain: "Oh tongue which preceded the soul of the martyr to the hosts of the martyrs (in heaven)! Oh mouth which brought forth a hidden martyr! Oh tongue having for its altar the mouth! Oh mouth whose sacrificial victim was the tongue! Oh noble martyr, we knew not that thou hadst thy mouth for a temple, in which thou didst sacrifice thy kindred tongue as an admirable (*παράδοξον*) lamb!" Chrysostom then addresses a lengthy apostrophe to the martyr, repeating some of the above figures and adding: *ἔλαβες εἰς τὸ φθέγγεσθαι πλῆκτρον, σὺ δὲ αὐτὸ τεμνόμενον ἄσταχυν ἀνέδειξας.* He then goes on to say that the tongue, like Isaac of old, lay patiently on the altar, and did not recoil from the knife, but received the blow with pleasure (*ib.* 40).

This is a genuine sophistic tour de force. The images are so bold and overwrought as to border on the ridiculous. It is a fine

specimen of the extravagant and exaggerated declamations of the rhetors.[6]

In the beginning of this chapter we remarked that one of the serious faults of Chrysostom's style was his immoderate redundance of metaphors. In this respect he seems to surpass even the most radical sophists. In 52, 416, 14, we found a series of ten metaphors on wealth, which is styled: "An ungrateful, runaway slave, a cruel murderer, an untamable beast, a precipice sheer on every side, a rock continually washed by the billows, a sea agitated by innumerable winds, a tyrant harshly imperious, a despot more cruel than a barbarian, an implacable enemy, an irreconcilable foe." Note that all these terms are concrete. This tedious litany is followed immediately by another series of twelve metaphors on poverty, *ib.* 23. Cf. also 50, 685, 40, a series of sixteen metaphors on the martyrs' death, four of which are concrete and the rest abstract terms. These endless enumerations are nothing but an empty display of rhetorical skill, which, though wearisome to a modern reader, must have been highly acceptable to Chrysostom's audience.

For the close of this chapter we have reserved a very remarkable specimen of turgid sophistic declamation. It occurs at the end of a long comparison in which St. Roman, Martyr, is likened to a pilot who sees the storm of persecution rising against the ship of the Church, and going up to Jesus, who is asleep in the ship, he raises the cry of the Apostles (*Matth.* VIII, 25): "Lord, save us, we perish!" and then Chrysostom continues, 50, 615, 59: "Pirates surround your vessel, wolves beset the flock, robbers are undermining your bridal-chamber, adulterous hissings (συρίγματα) sound about your bride, once more the serpent is breaking into (τοιχωρυχεῖ) Paradise, the foundation-rock of the Church is shaking, but cast down from heaven the evangelical anchor, and set fast the shaking rock: Lord, save us, we perish!" What a contrast between the simple, pathetic cry: "Lord, save us, we perish," and its bombastic paraphrase! The profusion of images is bewildering. The Church is pictured as a ship, a flock, a bridal-chamber, a bride, as Paradise, a foundation-stone; her enemies as pirates, wolves, robbers, a serpent; finally God is besought to cast down an anchor to fasten the shaking rock! an incongruous metaphor indeed.

[6] Cf. the bombastic apostrophe which the father of Cynaegirus addresses to the hand of his son in Polemo's *Declamation* A, 35 ff.

Our investigation of Chrysostom's use of the metaphor has shown us several additional points of direct contact between his oratory and the sophistic rhetoric. The liberal use of certain metaphors of established profane origin, the sophistic fashion in which metaphors taken from a profane source are treated, the labored ingenuity, extravagance, and exaggeration which marks certain others, and finally his immoderate redundance of images, all betray Chrysostom's intimate relationship with the sophist rhetors. The studies which Méridier and Guignet have made of Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory Nazianzen on this same point enable us to state that in the prodigal exuberance of his metaphors Chrysostom by far surpasses his illustrious contemporaries.

CHAPTER VI

THE COMPARISON

The keen sense for the graphic and picturesque which manifests itself in the metaphors of Chrysostom appears in an even more striking manner in his comparisons. The comparison does not differ essentially from the metaphor. Both are founded on the resemblance between two objects. In the metaphor this likeness is not directly expressed but implied. In the comparison it is formally stated. The metaphor is thus by its very nature a more subtle and powerful figure; whereas the comparison, plainly manifesting itself as an image, has more of an ornamental character. The oriental peoples are of course more given to this sparkling ornament than the Europeans. As already stated, Chrysostom was an Oriental, a Syrian, and naturally comparisons are very numerous in his sermons. Like the sophists of the Asiatic schools, Chrysostom prefers comparisons of the gaudy and showy kind to the more discreet and restrained types found in the classic orators.

Chrysostom himself justifies his use of this figure in the following two passages: Commenting on St. Paul, *Hebr.* V, 11: "Of whom (*i. e.,* Melchisedech) we have much to say and hard to be intelligibly uttered: because you are become weak to hear," he says (56, 165, 32): "Evidently it is not the nature of the language but the ignorance of the audience which makes difficult, yea very difficult, what in itself is easy. . . . . When we have the care of the sick we must not set before them a meal prepared at haphazard, but a variety of dishes, so that the patient may choose what suits his taste. Thus we must proceed in the spiritual repasts (*i. e.,* preaching). Since we are weak, the sermon must be varied and embellished; it must contain comparisons, proofs, paraphrases, and the like, so that we may select what will profit our soul." Again, in 57, 199, 13, he points out how Christ employed parables to make the divine truths more acceptable to the Jews by inserting in his discourse terms that were in common use, such as, thrashing-floor, harvest, winepress, vineyard, field etc. Here Chrysostom's theoretical view on the purpose of the comparison is briefly indicated. It should be subject to the needs of exposi-

tion; it should serve, like the parables of the Savior, to elucidate and facilitate the understanding of the abstract and spiritual ideas of Christian teaching. We shall soon see that Chrysostom, in practice, does not always keep in view this purpose of the comparison.

His comparisons are drawn from various sources, at times from Sacred Scripture. But in the majority of cases Chrysostom draws on profane sources for the themes of his comparisons. As to the general character of these themes, our conclusions tally with those of Méridier (117) on Gregory of Nyssa, and of Guignet (161) on Gregory Nazianzen, *viz.,* that Chrysostom's comparisons are not taken from a great variety of subjects. All may be reduced to a limited number of stereotype forms, slightly modified to suit the occasion. We can classify them broadly under two heads, *viz.,* such as are borrowed from natural phenomena, the sun, the stars, fire, earth, water etc., and such as are taken from the technical arts, military and naval science, the games etc. These are precisely the themes which were in vogue in the rhetorical schools of the day. Like his contemporaries, Chrysostom for the most part adopts and utilizes them after the manner of the sophists. There is hardly any attempt at original treatment; he reveals no new phases of these subjects.

1. *Comparisons with the sun, e.g.,* 50, 703, 26: One who denies the divinity of Christ is like to one who claims that the sun is dark; by so doing he only proves his blindness. 50, 700, 37: "As one who looks at the sun does not make it more resplendent, but receives its light in his eye: so he who honors a martyr does not make him more celebrated, but receives the blessing of his light." 50, 617, 42: The martyrs are said to be more radiant than ten thousand suns and more brilliant than the great lights of heaven. 50, 699, 62: As it is impossible to extinguish the sun's light, so too the memory of the martyrs. St. Peter, in 50, 455, 57, and St. Paul, in 50, 494, 53, are compared to the rising sun. 50, 709, 29: The rivulets of blood flowing over the bodies of the martyrs are likened to the saffron-colored rays of the rising sun.

2. *Comparisons with the stars, e.g.,* 50, 467, 3: The faithful regarded the faces of the apostles as stars. 50, 707, 6: The starry sky is not so resplendent as the bodies of the martyrs with their brilliant array of wounds. Cf. also 50, 670, 1; 50, 669, 46.

3. *Comparisons with fire,* 50, 494, 42: The voice of St. Paul is likened to a fire which consumes thorns. 50, 491, 27: The same saint is compared to a fire falling amid reeds or chaff. 50, 686,

62: The demons are said to flee before the relics of the martyrs as from fire. 50, 581, 61: The body of St. Pelagia, Virgin-Martyr, is compared to a flash of lightning striking terror into the phalanxes of the demons.

4. *Comparisons drawn from rivers, the sea, and navigation,* 49, 38, 30: The mouths of blasphemers are likened to death-dealing wells. 56, 265, 9: The multitude of the faithful hurrying to church is compared to a torrent. 49, 36, 10: The crowds at Antioch surpassed river floods. 52, 415, 23: "Life is like the raging sea, and every day it causes (ὠδίνει) unexpected and direful shipwrecks." 49, 59, 45: The disaster at Antioch (387 A.D.) is likened to a storm on the sea, compelling all the faithful to take refuge in the church as in a harbor. 50, 598, 60: The living are likened to "voyagers tossed about in mid-ocean, now raised on the crests of the highest billows, now sinking down into the depths." 50, 625, 45: The heart of the mother of the Maccabees is compared to a "rock in the sea which receives the shock of the waves, but remains firm and easily repels them dissolved into foam." 50, 613, 2: Life at the time of the persecutions was like the sea stirred to its depths. Kings and tyrants raged more fiercely than the billows. 50, 425, 21: The Christian should look to the future reward like the merchant who braves the perils of the sea in the hope of amassing a fortune. A similar example occurs 50, 422, 50. 50, 590, 46: We admire the rulers of the Church in the time of persecution, as we esteem a pilot who can safely direct his ship when there is a storm on the sea and mutiny on board. 50, 507, 26: It would be as foolish for any one to undertake, without preparation, the office of preaching, as it would be for one to take the pilot's place who is not skilled in battling with the waves (Cf. Guignet, 166). 50, 437, 46: A king, like a ship, is bespattered on all sides and contracts many flaws. 52, 416, 50: One who hoards up excessive wealth is like an overloaded ship. 50, 649, 19: The tombs of the martyrs are compared to safe harbors, fountains, and inexhaustible treasures.

5. *Military science, another source of comparisons,* 49, 398, 34: As a great king who is victorious in war hangs up on high the cuirass and shield of his enemy, so Christ, having conquered the devil, suspended on the cross, as a trophy, the weapons of the devil, death and the curse of sin. 50, 617, 54: As robbers flee at the sight of the gilded cuirass, helmet, and buckler of a great chieftain, so the devils dare not approach when they see the bodies of the martyrs. 50, 681, 53: The martyrs, upbraiding their per-

secutors, are likened to skilful archers who with perfect aim shoot their arrows from the bow-string and rout the lines of the enemy: so the holy martyrs and all the champions (ἀγωνισταί) of the truth send forth their words from their tongue as from a bow-string, and these, flying like arrows through the air, fall upon the unseen phalanxes of the demons and rout them. Note how carefully all the details of this comparison are worked out. 50, 681, 50: Women too can join the army of Christ; "they also may put on a cuirass, advance the buckler, and shoot darts." The death of St. Drosis, Virgin-Martyr, is represented as a victory of Christ over the devil, 50, 687, 52: As David slew Goliath with his own sword, so Christ cut off the devil's head with the same weapon (*i. e.*, woman) with which he had conquered Adam. Justifying the holy anger of St. Paul, Chrysostom says, 50, 508, 24: "God gave to our soul the keenness of anger, like the sharp edge of a sword, to be used when there is need." With reference to the victory which Christ won for us by his death on the Cross, Chrysostom says, 49, 396, 55: "Since the victory is ours, let us like soldiers shout the hymn of victory (ἀλαλάξωμεν . . . . τὴν ἐπινίκιον ᾠδήν)." *On St. Roman, Martyr,* 50, 613, 18: "The martyr laughed at this conflict (*i. e.,* martyrdom) as at some mock-fight, and as if he were ἐν σκάμμασιν (a place dug out and sanded on which athletes practiced) and covering his judges with dust; so he agitated the mind of the judge with his (display of) faith, and checked him in his course against the Church." Note the ingenious application of the image of dust raised by the athlete to the faith of the martyr. 50, 591, 39: "As in armies the command of the select troops and larger companies is given to the more skilful leaders, so in the Church large dioceses are entrusted to the more tried superiors." 50, 576, 60: "As soldiers show their wounds to the general and speak familiarly with him, so the martyrs, bearing their severed heads in their hands, and proffering them to the King of heaven, can obtain whatever they desire." A bold and realistic comparison. 50, 672, 2: "As even a cowardly man, at the sight of the buckler, spear, and cuirass of some champion, is filled with courage, so we, looking on the body of the martyr, ought to take heart and be ready to fight for Christ." 49, 35, 46: The plight of the people of Antioch after the overthrow of the statues of Theodosius is likened to a siege.

6. *Comparisons borrowed from the athletic games,* 50, 709, 10: Of the martyrs Chrysostom says: "These, like athletes crowned (στεφανῖται), departed after the contests to their ἀγωνοθέτης (*i. e.,*

God)." 50, 678, 38, *On St. Barlaam, Martyr:* "He stepped forth like a brave athlete who had practiced a long time in the palaestra; for the prison was to the martyr a palaestra where, in private conversation with God, he learned all the tricks of wrestling (παλαίσματα)." 50, 611, 59: As the palaestra makes the body strong and skilled in the athletic art, so the commemoration of the martyrs arms the soul against the tricks of the demons and trains it for the struggle (λαβάς) with them. The narration of their sufferings spreads out before us, as in a stadium (ἐν σκάμμασι), the double course (δίαυλον) of every martyr. 50, 668, 19: "The martyrs like boxers did not heed blows, but fixed their gaze on the crown. Like mariners they regarded not the dangers of the sea, but looked forward to the harbor." In the following we receive some detailed information on the rules prevailing in athletic contests: 50, 421, 61: "In the Olympic games the athlete contends within the stadium, but his παιδοτρίβης (trainer) remains outside the lists, and, by calling him and shouting to him, gives aid, nor is he allowed to stand close and assist him with his hands. But the case is different in the spiritual contests; for here the trainer is at the same time an athlete. Therefore he stands not outside but enters the lists and anoints the athletes fighting in company with him" (Chrysostom is referring to St. Paul). In 50, 440, 50, Christ is compared to a renowned παιδοτρίβης who, receiving a slovenly, enervated athlete, instructs, trains, and makes him put on muscle; then, not to let him grow idle, orders him to enter the contests, to teach him by actual test what strength he has acquired.

The following specimen gives occasion to a beautiful *ecphrasis* or description of the triumphal entrance of the martyrs into heaven, 50, 710, 11: "For if, on the arrival of stranger athletes in a town, all the people gather in a circle and examine their well-shaped limbs: with greater likelihood did the angels and all the celestial powers gather around these athletes of religion as they entered heaven. They too carefully noted their wounds, received them amid rejoicing, and embraced them like champions coming from the battle after many trophies and victories. They conducted them amid a numerous bodyguard to the King of heaven, to the throne surrounded with glory, where are the Cherubim and Seraphim. Arriving there, they adore Him who sits on the throne, and are received by the Lord with greater kindness even than by their fellows, for he receives them not as servants but as friends." Note that the martyrs are represented here both as

athletes and as warriors. The picture is not lacking in sublimity.

It is not unusual with Chrysostom to mount a tableau in the frame of a comparison, as appears again in the following: 50, 682, 10: "Do you not see how unnerved those are who come from the spectacle of the games? The reason is the close attention with which they view the contests. They depart having fixed in their soul the image of eyes straining from their sockets, of hands twisted out of joint, of feet shifting quickly, and of other contortions which appear when the bodies are whirled about." He then upbraids the faithful for not showing an equal interest in and application to the recital of the martyrs' conflicts, and continues: "Let us set up in our minds (the picture of) all the martyrs, together with the cauldrons and other instruments of torture, and, as painters often wipe off an old painting grown dim with smoke and soot, so let us employ the memory of the martyrs. If worldly cares enter and darken the image of your soul, restore its brightness by recalling to mind the martyrs.

In his panegyric *On St. Roman,* 50, 611, 4, he compares the devil, plotting to have the tongue of the martyr cut out, to an athlete who, vanquished in the *παγκράτιον* by his adversary, has the latter's hands cut off and thus maimed is able to strike him: so in the case of the martyr the severed member was the most striking proof of the devil's defeat.

7. *Comparisons drawn from the chariot races,* 50, 501, 11: St. Paul, hesitating to speak in praise of himself, is compared to a steed which, coming to the edge of a precipice, rears up continually. In *Hom.* II *On the Statues,* Chrysostom likens the inhabitants of Antioch to a steed, 49, 34, 46: "The populace so well ordered and quiet, yea, even like a tractable and well tamed steed, always submissive to the hands of its rulers, has now so suddenly started off with us, as to have wrought such evils, as one can hardly dare to mention." *Ib.* 58, the weight of sadness is likened to a bridle that checks the tongue of the preacher. In the sermon *On the Holy Martyrs,* 50, 645, 42, Chrysostom draws a parallel between the spectacle of the suffering martyrs and the chariot races: "If those who rave about the games and are eager for the chariot races never get their fill of this senseless spectacle; then, in greater measure, ought we have an insatiable longing for the feasts of the martyrs." Then follows a series of well balanced antitheses: *Ἐκεῖ πομπὴ διαβολικὴ, ἐνταῦθα ἑορτὴ χριστιανική· ἐκεῖ δαίμονες σκιρτῶσιν, ἐνταῦθα ἄγγελοι χορεύουσιν· ἐκεῖ ψυχῶν ἀπώλεια, ἐνταῦθα σωτηρία τῶν συλλεγομένων ἁπάντων.* Then he asks: "What

pleasure is it to see a futile and haphazard race of horses? Here, however, you see not teams of brute animals, but the myriad chariots of the martyrs and God as their charioteer driving along the road to heaven."

8. *A considerable number of comparisons are taken from agriculture and gardening, e.g.,* 50, 573, 26: The Church is compared to a garden irrigated by the blood of the martyrs. 49, 35, 10: The city of Antioch after the overthrow of the statues of Theodosius is likened to a park afflicted with a drought, the trees being stripped of their foliage and fruit; *ib.* 36, 12, to an oak-grove in which the trees have been cut down, and to a bald head (this image is not sufficiently elevated to be applied to a city); *ib.* 35, 1, to a bee-hive, and its people to bees buzzing round the marketplace during the prosperous days that preceded the noted calamity; after the calamity, to a deserted bee-hive; for fear like smoke drove away the bees. The comparison of the faithful to bees occurs again in 52, 405, 44. 50, 673, 15: The bodies of the martyrs are likened to trees that bear fruit at all seasons, and to fountains that are never exhausted. 49, 17, 19: The Sacred Scriptures are compared to a meadow covered with violets, lilies, and various flowers, and to a park full of fruit trees. Here is a comparison of undoubted sophistic origin: In his panegyric *On St. Ignatius, Martyr,* 52, 587, 52, Chrysostom says: "We feel as one entering a meadow who sees an abundance of roses, violets, lilies, and other various flowers of spring, and is at a loss which ones he should admire first, and which next, since all invite a closer view."[1] 52, 417, 4: Superfluous wealth should be removed, as the gardener prunes the vine of its leaves and tendrils. 52, 409, 16: St. Paul is likened to an able husbandman, handling the plow of doctrine. The Christian is compared to a husbandman, 50, 425, 31, and 49, 59, 6. Human nature is likened to fat and rich soil, 50, 467, 44. Grief over the sins of their brethren pressed upon the neck of the Apostles like a heavy yoke, 50, 590, 31.

9. *Comparisons with animals,* 50, 696, 21: The devil is compared to a wild beast who devours the bodies of the martyrs, covering his mouth and tongue with blood. Conquered by their endurance, he retreats sated with his cruel repast. 50, 523, 23: "Hunger, like an executioner lodged in the vitals, lacerates the body more fiercely than fire or a wild beast." Note the redun-

[1] Himerius, V, 57, line 82; Libanius, XVII, 211 (end), edit. Foerster; Gregory of Nyssa, Méridier, 126; Gregory Nazianzen, Guignet, 166.

dance of images. We shall encounter still more striking examples of Chrysostom's prodigality in this regard.

The following, on St. Pelagia, Virgin-Martyr, is a picture of poetical delicacy, drawn with the nicety of detail which reveals the finished art of the rhetor: St. Pelagia, surrounded in her home by the executioners, won a martyr's crown by leaping from the roof of her house, 50, 581, 3: "As a hind which has fallen into the hands of the hunters and has escaped thence to the inaccessible top of a mountain, stops at length in its flight and looks down without fear on its former pursuers: so she, having fallen into the hands of the hunters and being shut up in her home as in a net, rushed up, not to the mountain top, but to the very heights of heaven, where there was no chance to reach her. Moreover, looking down thence upon them as they retreated empty-handed, she rejoiced at seeing the disgrace that had come upon these infidels." Contrast with this sympathetic picture his sketch of Julian the Apostate, 50, 530, 1: "Looking up from earth to heaven, he howled like the mad dogs that bark indiscriminately at friend and foe." 50, 421, 13: "Concupiscence, like a mad dog, leaps at us continually."

10. *Comparisons with musical instruments:* To convey the idea of harmony, the Greek orators often employ the image of a musical instrument. Chrysostom manifests a strong liking for this figure, *e. g.,* 50, 588, 54: "As in a lyre there are many strings but one accord, so in the choir of the Apostles there are many persons but one doctrine, since there is one artist, the Holy Spirit, moving the souls." In 53, 107, 33, the body of man is compared to a lyre needing the touch of the musician, who is God, to produce a tuneful melody. St. Roman, Martyr, who miraculously retained his speech after his tongue had been cut out, gives our orator a splendid opportunity to display this showy figure with all the finesse of a sophist orator. The mouth of the saint is represented both as a flute, and as a cither, his tongue as a mouthpiece and a plectrum respectively, 50, 611, 26: "If you take the mouthpiece off a flute, the instrument becomes useless. Not so this spiritual flute; for though the tongue was removed, it gave forth a sweeter and more mystic melody. . . . . And in the case of a cither, if one takes away the plectrum, the player is helpless. . . . . Here the very opposite happens: For truly, his mouth was a cither, his tongue the plectrum, his soul the player, and his confession the art," etc. The studious care of detail and the emphasis on the paradoxical are here very noticeable. In 50, 613, 24, the same

martyr is compared to a tympanum: "The executioners stood about and crushed his body with blows, but he, like a brass tympanum, echoed a melody of piety. Suspending him on a rack, they tore his body, but he embraced the rack like a tree of life. They lacerated his cheeks as well as his sides, but he, as if he had thereby received more mouths, held a speech," etc. The exaggeration and bad taste of this comparison mark it as strongly sophistic.

11. *Comparisons taken from painting* were equally popular with the Greeks. Chrysostom has the following: In 50, 589, 16, St. Paul, writing on the qualities necessary to a bishop, is likened to a skilful painter. In 50, 622, 53, the faithful are bidden to depict the struggles of the martyrs on their hearts as on tablets. In 60, 227, 16, the house of God is compared to a painter's studio, where royal portraits are painted with the colors of virtue.

We have here quite a complete collection of the traditional comparisons of the schools, which shows how faithfully Chrysostom follows the fashion of the sophist orators. We shall by way of supplement add a number of comparisons which, either by reason of their originality or their distinctive character, occupy a place apart from the preceding.

In 52, 394, 37, the church in which the deposed consul Eutropius was being held a voluntary prisoner clinging to the altar for asylum, is compared to "a king seated on his throne, clad in royal purple, with a crown on his head, whilst at his feet the barbarians lie prostrate, their hands tied behind their back." Again, in 50, 453, 24, the church holding a large gathering of the faithful is likened to a modest, highbred woman wearing a garment that reaches to her ankles. 50, 522, 8: "The bride seated in the bridal-chamber is not so lovely and charming as the Christian soul appearing in church is admirable and glorious, redolent with the perfume of spiritual ointments." 50, 583, 35: The faithful who on their way from church relate to one another the deeds of the martyrs are represented as using their tongue like a censer, to fill with perfume the road on which they travel. 50, 526, 12: "The Christian should profess his faith everywhere, wearing it like a royal diadem on his brow." 50, 622, 36: "The body of the mother of the Maccabees was added to the choir of her sons as a most precious gem is inserted in a crown." 50, 618, 50: The bodies of the martyrs covered with wounds are likened to glorious kingly crowns set with pearls and gems. 49, 41, 26: "As too large a shoe hinders one in walking, so superfluous wealth is a hindrance

on the journey to heaven." 50, 635, 13: Sts. Bernice and Prosdoce, flying from their city at the time of persecution, are compared to persons who flee from a burning house at midnight. The same image is applied to Antioch, 49, 35, 19.

A classical commonplace is contained in the following, 50, 589, 51: "As one who hands a sharp sword to a madman becomes a party to the murder committed by him, so a bishop who lends the approval of his authority to one living wickedly contracts the guilt of all his sins." [2]

The comparison of man to an actor on the stage of the world, which is a current theme among the philosophers and rhetors, is developed at length by Chrysostom in 48, 1034, 54.

Thus far we have reviewed only the chief themes which appear in Chrysostom's comparisons, and only in a few cases have we called attention to the artistic qualities of the comparisons themselves. There still remains the task of examining in how far Chrysostom, in his development of these themes, reflects the methods of the sophists, in other words, we must point out the comparisons which are ingenious, far-fetched, minutely detailed, exaggerated, paradoxical, redundant, or which show bad taste.

Here are some fair specimens of the studied ingenuity which the sophists reckoned as one of the highest accomplishments of a finished artist:

In the conclusion of one of his sermons Chrysostom says: "We must briefly recapitulate what we have said, and imitate mothers who put into their children's lap fruit, dainties, and the like. Lest they lose some of the things given to them, the mothers tuck up their garments on all sides, and thrust them securely under the girdle. Let us do the same, summarizing our long-drawn out discourse, and depositing it in the care of memory," 50, 119, 18.

The body of St. Meletius, buried in the tomb, but spiritually efficacious, is compared to a wonderful hidden root, itself invisible, but showing its vigor by its fruits, 50, 515, 23.

In the following comparison a natural phenomenon is chosen to illustrate the paradoxical aspect of a miracle—a typically sophistic procedure: "As well-diggers, when they dig up the veins of the earth, cause a more copious flow of water, so the tyrant who severed the root of St. Roman's tongue was overwhelmed with a more violent flood of reproaches," 50, 616, 65.

[2] Cf. Plato, *Rep.* I, 331 C.

Here is an elaborate comparison on St. Pelagia, who, surrounded in her home by a band of soldiers, won a martyr's crown by hurling herself from the roof of her house, 50, 581, 49: "As a merchant-ship, with a cargo of ointments and precious pearls, at the very mouth of the harbor, escapes the shock of a billow which had threatened to engulf it, and is raised up by the force of the tide and carried with greater speed into the harbor: so too it was with the Blessed Pelagia; for the rush of the soldiers, the fear of impending tortures, and the menacing attitude of the judge, falling upon her with more violence than a billow, only urged her to fly more quickly up to heaven."

An example of studied prettiness occurs in the discourse *On St. Meletius,* 50, 515, 36: "As one fashioning a crown of gold adds to the splendor of the diadem by inserting pearls in the mass of gems: so I, twining this day a garland of praise for this blessed head, weave into the texture of my discourse the frequent repetition of his name."

Hom. II *On the Maccabees* opens with a far-fetched and exaggerated comparison, which is meant to illustrate the preacher's *ἀπορία,* 50, 623, 17: "When I consider the glorious deeds of the Seven Martyrs, I fare like a miser who, sitting by a stream of liquid gold with seven tubes attached, strives to draw out the whole flood, but retreats after untold labor, leaving the greater part of his task undone. . . . ."

Sometimes the first member of a comparison is nothing else than a disguised ecphrasis, or artistic description, absorbing all the interest and eclipsing entirely the main idea. It serves no longer to illustrate the latter, but is simply a bit of ornament introduced for the sake of entertaining the audience. Thus Chrysostom likens St. Paul to a physician, 50, 499, 2: "When you see the doctor now cauterizing, now fomenting (the diseased parts), now employing the knife, now medicine, now stinting the sick person as to food and drink, and again, bidding him to partake liberally of the same; now wrapping him up tightly, and again, when he is thoroughly warm, ordering him to drink a whole tumbler of cold water,—you do not in such cases criticize the constant change of method. . . . . Much more must we praise St. Paul adapting himself to sinners, for those who are sick in soul need no less skilful treatment than the sick of body etc."

A similar specimen occurs in 49, 51, 59, where fasting is compared to a medicine,[3] and again in 50, 707, 55, where an actual

[3] Cf. Guignet, 179.

battle scene and the struggles of the martyrs are contrasted: "What is the terrible thing in a battle? Two armies, well entrenched, are arrayed against one another, bristling with weapons and armour, the gleam of which illumines the earth; from every side clouds of arrows are discharged, which obscure the light of day. Rivers of blood flood the ground, and many are cut down everywhere, like the crops at harvest time, so violent is the clash of the opposing hosts. Now let me show you another kind of battle. Here also are two hostile armies, the one of the martyrs, the other of the tyrants; but the tyrants are fully armed, while the martyrs fight without arms or armour, and the victory goes to the unarmed, not to the armed." Note the emphasis on the paradoxical. In 708, 20, *ib.*, the martyrs' struggle is compared to an athletic combat, and, *ib.* 30, their wonderful victory is likened to that of a soldier who would be forced to enter the battle with the point of his spear broken off, without his cuirass, and who, though bruised and battered and covered with myriads of wounds, would come off victorious. A similar paradoxical contrast is pursued at length in the fourth discourse on St. Paul, 50, 492, 43.

More generally however, all the minute points of the first member of the comparison are faithfully and exactly retraced in the second. We have already observed the sophistic method of searching after a great number of coincidences in minute points; it is strikingly exemplified in this description of a warrior's tent, which serves as a comparison with the tomb of the martyrs, 50, 680, 58: "The mere fame of a celebrated champion is enough to rouse a soldier; much more, however, does the sight and aspect of such a one move him, especially if he enters the tent of the brave warrior, and sees the gory sword, the head of his enemy lying on the ground, the spoils suspended, the fresh blood dripping from the hands of him who erected the trophy; if he sees everywhere spears, bucklers, bows, and the other panoply of war. Therefore we too are met here. For the grave of the martyr is a soldier's tent; and if you open the eyes of faith, you will see there the cuirass of justice, the buckler of faith, the helmet of salvation, the greaves of the gospel, the sword of the spirit, and the very head of the devil lying on the ground. For when you see a demoniac lying on his back by the martyr's tomb, lacerating his face, you are beholding nothing else than the head of the devil. Even now such weapons lie by the side of the soldiers of Christ; and, as kings bury brave chiefs with their arms, so Christ too buried the martyrs with their weapons, that he might even before the

resurrection exhibit the glory and power of the saints." A curious specimen of sophistic workmanship, interesting because the series of metaphors, cuirass of justice etc., is borrowed from St. Paul (*Ephes.* VI, 11-17). Was this detailed description prompted by that passage? If so, it would show how the sophist enlarged on an already elaborate allegory of Holy Scripture.

Contrast with this martial scene a pastoral ecphrasis of poetical beauty, forming the first part of a comparison between a flock of sheep in pasture and the flock of Christ, 50, 683, 24: "Industrious shepherds, when they see how the sun's bright rays shining through the long winter have at length brought warmer weather, drive their sheep out of the folds to their usual pastures. Imitating them, our worthy shepherd (Flavian) has led this holy and spiritual flock of Christ to these spiritual pastures of the saints. The sheep, it is true, get their fill standing at the manger, but once outside the pen, they derive more benefit from the meadows, bending down with great delight, nibbling off the grass with their teeth, breathing the fresh air, looking up at the bright and clear sunlight, and gamboling by lakes, springs, and rivers. The earth too, decked everywhere with flowers, gives them pleasure. This is true not only of these but of us also. For us too, indeed, there is set within the church a table full of spiritual viands, but this going out to the graves of the holy martyrs affords us great consolation and not less advantage. Not because we breathe the fresh air, but because we fix our gaze on the grand deeds of these noble heroes. We leap with joy, not by rivers of flowing water, but by the streams of divine grace; not grazing with heads bowed down to earth, but culling the virtues of the martyrs; not contemplating the earth decked with flowers, but bodies teeming with spiritual gifts." The scrupulous nicety of detail in this picture is the strongest indication of its sophistic character.

A like elaborate ecphrasis occurs in 50, 494, 53, where St. Paul's preaching of the Gospel is compared in its effects to the rising of the sun. A graphic description of a pilot's resourcefulness during a storm, applied to St. Roman, Martyr, occurs in 50, 615, 44. Another striking comparison taken from painting, in which the second part develops into a colorful portrayal of the tortures of the martyrs, will be quoted in the chapter on the ecphrasis.

The following passage will demonstrate how Chrysostom could draw a moral with telling power in the form of a compari-

son, 50, 649, 56: "The martyrs shed their blood: let your eyes shed tears, for tears can extinguish the fire of sins. Their sides were lacerated, they beheld the executioners surrounding them: you do this with your conscience. Place your reason as an impartial judge on the throne of your soul, and bring forward all your sins. Confront them with menacing reflections, chastise your impure thoughts, from which spring your sins, and torture them most violently. If we so practice judging ourselves, we shall escape that terrible judgment." The picture is grand and powerful.

We come now to a phase of Chrysostom's art which proves how thoroughly he was permeated with the sophistic spirit; we mean his immoderate heaping up of comparisons on one subject, a trait already noted in regard to his metaphors. In his desire for ornamentation, he gives free rein to his rich and lively fancy, outrivaling in this respect even the most radical sophists. Guignet (182) notes as excessive Himerius' employment of five comparisons in five successive lines, and remarks that Gregory Nazianzen is never guilty of such immoderation. But Himerius is moderate compared with Chrysostom, for we find in 52, 410, 14, fourteen short comparisons, in 51, 44, 38, eight, and in 50, 447, 49, six comparisons following in close succession. What makes them more artificial is their parallel structure, enhanced by homoioteleuton, so that they form well-balanced periods of parisa. The fourteen comparisons illustrate the intimate bond of union between God and the human soul, and are borrowed from Sacred Scripture: "For He espoused her as a wife, He loves her as a daughter, He provides for her as a handmaid, He guards her as a virgin, He fences her round like a garden, and cherishes her like a member; as a head He provides for her, as a root He causes her to grow, as a shepherd He feeds her, as a bridegroom He weds her, as a propitiation He pardons her, as a sheep He is sacrificed, as a bridegroom He preserves her in beauty, as a husband He provides for her support."

The series of eight comparisons occurs (51, 44, 38) in Chrysostom's *Hom. on the Narrow Gate and on the Lord's Prayer:* "When a person leaps like a steer, kicks like an ass, is as vindictive as a camel, gluttonous like a bear, robs like a wolf, stings like a scorpion, is treacherous as a fox, and neighs after women like a stallion—how can such a one utter the cry befitting a son and call God his father?"

The dry and mechanical fashion in which Chrysostom enumerates these series of short comparisons makes them appear as a mere display of rhetorical virtuosity. Here are some more examples of Chrysostom's prolixity: 49, 50, 50: "As when the winter is over and the summer is appearing, the sailor draws his vessel to the deep; and the soldier burnishes his arms, and makes ready his steed for the battle; and the husbandman sharpens his sickle; and the traveler boldly undertakes a long journey, and the wrestler strips and bares himself for the contest. So too, when the fast makes its appearance like a kind of spiritual summer, let us as soldiers burnish our weapons; and as husbandmen let us sharpen our sickle etc." In 50, 576, 49, the martyrs are compared to pillars, towers, rocks, stars, and steers.

This heaping of comparisons becomes even more unbearable when it is coupled with a mixing of figures, as in 52, 416, 42, where hoarded wealth is likened to a lion, leopard, or bear which grows fierce and savage when confined in a dark place: "Thus wealth, securely locked up and buried in the ground, roars more fiercely than a lion . . . . but if you lead it out of the dark and scatter it in the bellies of the poor, the wild beast becomes a sheep, the enemy a friend, the rock a harbor, the shipwreck a calm." Note the series of paradoxes.

It is Chrysostom's desire to formulate a paradox that makes him apply two antithetical images to one subject in 50, 707, 39: "Let no one censure us, if we call the host of martyrs a band of dancers (*χορός*), and an army in battle-array (*παράταξις*) . . . . for like dancers they hastened to the scenes of torture with delight, and like warriors they displayed great courage and endurance and overcame their adversaries." He then concludes with a well-balanced parison which we have already quoted (p. 46). The bad taste of the hyperbole which represents the martyrs as dancers at a feast and the striking paradox stamp this comparison as strongly sophistical.

Here is an overwrought comparison of the melodramatic kind, on St. Barlaam, Martyr, who, rather than offer incense to the gods, suffered his right hand to be consumed by the sacrificial fire, 50, 680, 11: "As a brave warrior rushes against the foe, routs their line, and breaks his sword with the frequent blows he deals; then turns about and demands another sword, because he is not satisfied with the slaughter of the foe: so the Blessed Barlaam, having lost his hand in cutting down the phalanxes of the demons, wished for another right hand, to show his alacrity by sacrificing it also."

With this last extravagant remark compare Polemo's *Declamation* A, 11, where Cynaegirus, both of whose hands were cut off in the battle of Marathon, shows his eagerness to fight by upbraiding nature for her scantiness and demanding more hands of her.

Illustrating the idea that, in consequence of Christ's victory over death, even young maidens like St. Pelagia fearlessly courted a martyr's death, Chrysostom makes a comparison which is so strongly exaggerated as to be comical, 50, 579, 15: "As a mighty hunter takes a lion which has been terrorizing, and making inroads on his flock, knocks out his teeth, shears his hair, and thus makes him the butt of laughter and ridicule, giving him to the shepherd lads and girls to play with: so Christ took death, who was feared by human nature, and who terrorized our whole race, robbed him of his terrors, and delivered him over, so that even young girls can make sport of him." This image was probably suggested by the custom, prevalent in Chrysostom's time, of leading tamed lions about the market-place.[4]

Here is another comparison that amuses by its grotesqueness: In 51, 117, 22, St. Paul is likened to "a big fish, stirring up the sea and raising countless billows against the Church . . . .: "As a fisherman poised on a high rock, with rod raised up, drops his hook into the sea, so indeed our Lord, showing forth a spiritual type of fishing, was seated, as it were, on the high rock of the heavens, and dropped like a hook the words: 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?' Thus he caught this huge fish. And what happened in the case of the fish caught by Peter at the Lord's behest came to pass in this one also. This fish too was found holding a counterfeit stater in his jaws: for he had zeal, but not a wise zeal. . . . . And as they when drawn out of the sea straightway become blind, so he had no sooner swallowed the hook, than he was struck with blindness. However, this blindness brought sight to the whole world." Note the oxymoron in the last line. This is a curious sample of sophistic art. The labored ingenuity with which trivial details are worked out and the bad taste of the whole image leave no doubt as to its sophistic nature.

For the end of this chapter we have reserved a long series of comparisons, which fairly teems with sophistic mannerisms and bad taste. This series occurs in 50, 688, 38, on St. Drosis, the Virgin-Martyr: "As maniacs see nothing as it truly is, but whether

[4] Cf. 53, 78, 32.

it be a sharp sword, or fire, or an abyss, or a precipice, or the sea, hurl themselves into it without fear; so she, mad with a madness not like this, God forbid! but with a madness more excellent than any wisdom (oxymoron), and steeped with longing for Christ, saw nothing of what she saw (oxymoron), but, as if she were transferred to heaven and abiding there in spirit, she laughed at all terrors and looked upon the fire not as fire, but as dew (δρόσον). Therefore I call that pyre a fountain of purest water, and a wonderful bath of dye, and a smelting-furnace. For the soul of this blessed one was purified by fire, as gold is in a furnace. Though her flesh fell to pieces, and her bones were charred, and her sinews consumed, and the humor of her body flowed down on all sides, yet the faith of her soul grew more firm and bright. . . . . The layman, when he sees the melting gold run down and mix with the ashes, thinks it is spoiled and ruined, but the skilled artisan knows that so it becomes purer, and after it is burnt, he draws it forth shining brightly. Thus, in her case too, the infidels, seeing her flesh consumed and falling to pieces, fancied it was turning to dust and ashes, but the faithful well knew that, consumed by the fire, it was casting off all dross, and endowed with immortality was ascending more radiant (to heaven)."

"Moreover, whilst yet at the stake, and even before her resurrection, she conquered the hostile powers in a striking manner; for her flesh, while being consumed by the fire, made a hissing sound and routed them completely. And as a brave soldier, armed with steel weapons, by their very clang strikes terror into his cowardly foe, so too the Blessed Drosis, with the hissing of her skin, put to flight the infernal powers; and not only in this way, but in another not less wonderful. For no sooner had she mounted the pyre when the smoke ascending filled the air and choked the demons flying about, and drove away the devil, thus purifying the atmosphere. . . . . And the image of a fountain would fitly apply to that pyre; for, as if she were putting off a garment in the fountain and washing her body, so she put off her flesh in the fire with more ease than any garment, and made her soul bright, and accompanied by the angels hastened to her Bridegroom. If the angels conducted Lazarus, who was covered with ulcers, to the bosom of Abraham; with much more likelihood did they, forming a body-guard, take her as from a sacred bridal-chamber and lead her to her heavenly Spouse. And why do I call that pyre a bath of dye? Because she was sent up to the King of heaven as if changed to royal purple in a bath of dye. . . . .

Christ himself with unseen hand holding the sacred head and dipping it into the fire as into water. O wonderful pyre! what a treasure it held! that dust and ashes being more precious than gold, more fragrant than any ointment, and more valuable than any gem."

We note as evidences of strong sophistic coloring the two cases of oxymoron, the immoderate heaping of such heterogeneous ideas as dew, fountain, bath of dye, smelting-furnace, and bridal-chamber, the improper image of a maniac applied to the martyr, the puerile figure of the hissing of flesh likened to the clang of steel, the marked tendency to ecphrasis, and the studied minuteness of detail. The desire to make a pun on the martyr's name (Δροσίς) probably suggested the paradoxical comparison of fire to dew (δρόσος).

In summing up the sophistic traits of Chrysostom's comparisons, we must note, first of all, that in practice he often loses sight of the real purpose of the comparison as defined by himself. He frequently indulges in a heaping up of comparisons, thus giving a vain display of rhetorical pyrotechnics. His themes are largely those of the rhetorical schools. He develops them in truly sophistic fashion, with the result that many of his comparisons are exaggerated, paradoxical, far-fetched, bizarre, and puerile. Others are pursued with studied ingenuity into the minutest details. Thus every phase of Chrysostom's use of the comparison emphasizes still more the influence of sophistic rhetoric on his oratory.

CHAPTER VII

THE ECPHRASIS

The metaphor and the comparison are not devices of style which are peculiar to the sophists. We find them in all writers of every literature. It is only in the characteristic method of their employment that the sophistic manner manifests itself. But the fondness for concrete and graphic representation, of which they are the expression, reveals itself in Chrysostom by a form of exposition which is essentially sophistic, the Ecphrasis. The ecphrasis owes its name and definition to the rhetoricians. It is a species of narration, or rather description, whose purpose is to give a lifelike portrayal of an object in all its details. It is a painting in words. The favorite themes of the sophists, which they borrowed from the Alexandrine poets, were descriptions of nature, the sea, meadows, caves, animals, birds, especially the peacock; descriptions of works of art, paintings, statues, temples etc.; descriptions of the human body etc.[1]

We have already noted in the preceding chapter how the germ or even the fully developed form of the ecphrasis often appears in the comparison. We refer especially to the description of a battle (p. 79), of a warrior's tent (p. *ib.*), of a flock of sheep in pasture (p. 80). While quoting one or more further examples of this kind, we shall turn our attention here chiefly to the ecphrasis in its pure and independent form.

It is not surprising that the Christian orators of the fourth century should adopt a device so well calculated to impart life and color to their discourses and so acceptable to the public. Moreover, the topics of their sermons, such as the harrowing spectacles of martyrdom, the dramatic scenes of the Old and New Testament, the grandeur and beauty of the universe, invited and fully justified graphic portrayal. We might, however, expect them to remain within the limits of artistic necessity, but this is not always the case, as Méridier's study of Gregory of Nyssa (139), and Guignet's work on Gregory Nazianzen (187) sufficiently prove. Chrysostom is occasionally guilty of the same fault, though we shall see him at times putting a powerful check on his bent for

[1] Cf. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* I, 408, note 2.

descriptive detail. Since elaborate descriptions are not so frequent in Chrysostom, we have drawn our examples not only from the sermons, but also from other of his writings.

Descriptions of nature: 56, 265, 48: "For your sake the sun rises, and the moon lights up the night, and the changeful chorus of stars beams forth; for you the winds blow, and the rivers flow; for you the seeds germinate, and the plants grow, and nature keeps her wonted course, and the day appears and the night vanishes." In *Hom.* IX *on the Statues,* we find this descriptive passage, 49, 114, 37: "Follow me whilst I enumerate the meadows, the gardens, the various tribes of flowers; all sorts of herbs and their uses; their odors, forms, disposition, yea, but their very names; the trees which are fruitful, and which are barren; the nature of metals,—and of animals,—in the sea, or on the land; of those that swim, and those that traverse the air; the mountains, the forests, the groves; the meadow below, and the meadow above; for there is a meadow on the earth, and a meadow too in the sky; the various flowers of the stars; the rose below, and the rainbow above! Would you have me point out also the meadow of birds? Consider the variegated body of the peacock, surpassing every dye, and the fowls of purple plumage. Contemplate with me the beauty of the sky; how it has been preserved so long without being dimmed, and remains as bright and clear as if it had been only fabricated today; moreover, the power of the earth, how its womb has not become effete by bringing forth during so long a time! Contemplate with me the fountains; how they burst forth and fail not, since the time they were begotten, to flow forth continually throughout the day and night! Contemplate with me the sea, receiving so many rivers, yet never exceeding its measure!"

This is an inspiring hymn on the marvels of creation, and it shows us Chrysostom using the ecphrasis for an eminently practical purpose, to fill the minds of the faithful with admiration for the wisdom and power of God. The details are briefly sketched, and the whole description is more simple than the one in Gregory Nazianzen on the same theme.[2] It is of interest to note that Chrysostom resists the temptation to enlarge on the plumage of the peacock, a subject which every sophist loved to treat. Gregory Nazianzen, however, gives a gorgeous ecphrasis of the peacock in the passage referred to, and Gregory of Nyssa also has an elab-

[2] Cf. Guignet, 190 ff.

orate description of that bird.[3] In *Hom.* XI *on the Statues* (49, 122 and 123), Chrysostom describes with the accuracy of a physiologist the wonderful structure of the human eye, the eyelashes, eyebrows, the brain, and the heart as revealing the wisdom of the Creator.

Parallel between a meadow or garden, and the Holy Scriptures, 52, 395, 64: "Delectable indeed are the meadow and the garden, but far more delectable is the study of the divine writings. For there indeed are flowers which fade, but here are thoughts which abide in full bloom; there is the breeze of the zephyr, but here the breath of the Spirit; there is the hedge of thorns, but here is the guarding providence of God; there is the song of cicadae, but here the melody of the prophets; there is the pleasure which comes from sight, but here the profit which comes from study. The garden is confined to one place, but the Scriptures are in all parts of the world; the garden is subject to the necessities of the seasons, but the Scriptures are rich in foliage and laden with fruit alike in winter and in summer." A very poetical description sketched with the delicate art of the rhetor. Meadows, gardens, and the cicada were favorite themes of description. Also note the paradox in the last clause of the passage.

St. Paul's preaching is compared to the rising sun in its effects, 50, 494, 53: "As, when the sun rises, darkness is dispelled, wild beasts slink away and lurk in their lairs, robbers flee, murderers take refuge in their dens, pirates cease from their trade, grave-breakers withdraw, and adulterers, thieves, and housebreakers depart to some distant place and vanish for fear of being detected and convicted by the sun's beams, and all becomes bright and clear, the earth and the ocean, while the sun from on high illumines everything, the seas, the mountains, the lands, and the cities: so too, when the Gospel appeared, and Paul spread it broadcast, error was dispelled, truth returned, and fumes and the smoke (of sacrifices), and cymbals and kettle drums, drunkenness and revels, fornication and adultery, and other unmentionable deeds wont to be perpetrated at the sacrifices ceased and were abolished, melting like wax in the fire and vanishing like chaff in the flame." The elaborate structure of this long period is emphasized by eighteen cases of polysyndeton, ten at the beginning, and eight at the end. Poetical color is imparted by the frequent homoioteleuta, for which we refer to the Greek text. Highway-

[3] Cf. Méridier, 144.

men, pirates, grave-robbers, and housebreakers are pet themes in sophistic literature.

Here are two short sketches of poetical delicacy, 50, 600, 46: "The springs spout up copious floods: indeed they do not contain them within their bosom, but bringing forth large rivers they join the sea, and stretching forth, as it were, their long fingers they reach the waters of the ocean." Speaking of a species of wild vines, 50, 600, 54: "For, when they push forward their shoots over the top of the reeds, the tendrils creeping through the branches advance very far, thus furnishing a spacious roof for the dense foliage."

The weirder aspects of nature are sketched with no less ability than its calmer moods. An ecphrasis of a storm on the sea occurs in the first *Letter to Olympias,* 52, 549, 25: "If you like I will form an image of the things now taking place, so as to present the tragedy yet more distinctly to you. We behold a sea upheaved from the very lowest depths, some sailors floating dead upon the waves, others engulfed by them, the planks of the ships broken up, the sails torn to tatters, the masts sprung, the oars dashed out of the sailors' hands, the pilots seated on the deck, clasping their knees with their hands instead of grasping the rudder, bewailing the hopelessness of their situation with sharp cries and bitter lamentations, neither sky nor sea clearly visible, but all one deep and impenetrable darkness, so that no one can see his neighbor, whilst mighty is the roaring of the billows, and monsters of the sea attack the crews on every side." Chrysostom here gives full scope to his eminent descriptive powers, and the result is a sophistic ecphrasis of the first order, rich in detail, realistic, and vividly colored as any painting could be. Norden[4] cites it as an instance of the Asiatic style. Scenes of shipwreck and of a storm on the sea are familiar from the romances of the period. In the sermon on St. Roman, who is compared to a pilot steering his ship during a storm, we find this realistic image, 50, 615, 52: "The sea of idolatry was roaring blasphemies, and raging against the ship of the Church, and belching forth a foam of blood against the altars. . . . ." This is a favorite theme with Chrysostom; we find it treated again in 49, 109, 2, with a practical aim: "Behold this sea abounding with waves, and fierce winds; yet this sea, spacious and large, and furious as it is, is walled in with feeble sand! Mark also the wisdom of God, He permitted it not to be at rest, nor tranquil, lest you should suppose its good order to be

[4] *Die Antike Kunstprosa* I, 571.

of mere natural regulation; but remaining within its limits, it lifts up its voice, and is in tumult, and roars aloud, and raises its waves to a prodigious height. But when it comes to the shores, and beholds the sand, it breaks up, and returns back again within itself; teaching you, by both these things, that it is not the work of nature that it remains within its boundaries, but the work of Him whose power restrains it!" The description is one of simple grandeur, and the lesson is happily drawn.

Thus far we have reviewed only descriptions of nature, but the sophist's art was not restricted to so narrow a field. He must needs be able to describe a great variety of subjects, such as feasts, persons, works of art etc.

Commenting on the text: "When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, nor thy neighbors who are rich . . . . but the poor, the maimed, the lame, and the blind."[5] Chrysostom makes this elaborate parallel, 62, 304, 36: "Let us suppose two tables, and let one be filled with these, and have the blind, the halt, the maimed in hand or leg, the barefoot, those clad with but one scanty garment, and that worn out: but let the other have grandees, generals, governors, great officers, arrayed in costly robes and fine lawn, belted with golden girdles. Again, here at the table of the poor let there be neither silver, nor store of wine, but just enough to refresh and gladden, and let the drinking cups and the rest of the vessels be made from glass only; but there, at the table of the rich, let all the vessels be of silver and gold, and the semicircular table, not such as one person can lift, but as two young men can with difficulty move, and the wine-jars lie in order, glittering far beyond the silver with gold, and let the semicircle be smoothly laid all over with soft drapery. Here, again, let there be many servants, in garments not less ornamented than those of the guests, and bravely appareled, and wearing loose trousers, men beauteous to look upon, in the very flower of life, plump, and well conditioned: but there let there be only two servants disdaining all that proud vanity. And let those have costly meats, but these only enough to appease hunger and inspire cheerfulness." There is something dry and labored about this long description. The details are so plentiful that the preacher is sure of having satisfied the taste of his audience, for he continues: "Have I said enough? and are both tables laid out with sufficient minuteness? Is anything wanting? I think not. For I have gone over the guests, and the costliness of the vessels, and

[5] *Luke* XIV, 12, 13.

of the linen, and of the meats." Here we have the preacher's own admission that the exuberance of detail in this picture is conscious and intentional. Gregory Nazianzen gives an even more elaborate sketch of the refined luxury displayed in the houses of the rich.[6]

In the dramatic apostrophe to Eutropius, which opens the first homily of that name, 52, 391, we get a brilliant picture of the departed glory of the onetime powerful consul, who was clinging to the altar for asylum while Chrysostom thundered forth: "'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity'—it is always seasonable to utter this, but more especially at the present time. Where are now the brilliant surroundings of your consulship? where are the gleaming torches? Where is the dancing, and the noise of dancers' feet, and the banquets and the festivals? where are the garlands and the curtains of the theatre? where is the applause which greeted you in the city, where the acclamation in the hippodrome and the flatteries of spectators? They are gone—all gone! A wind has blown upon the tree shattering down all its leaves, and showing it to us quite bare, and shaken to its very root; for so great has been the violence of the blast, that it has given a shock to all these fibres of the tree, and threatens to tear it up from the roots. Where now are your feigned friends? where are your drinking parties and your suppers? where is the swarm of parasites, and the wine which used to be poured forth all day long, and the manifold dainties invented by your cooks? where are they who courted your power and did and said everything to win your favor? They were all mere visions of the night and dreams which have vanished with the dawn of day: they were spring flowers, and when the spring was over they all withered: they were a shadow which has passed away—they were a smoke which has dispersed, bubbles which have burst, cobwebs which have been rent in pieces. Therefore we chant continually this spiritual song—'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.'"

Never was the emptiness of human glory driven home with more telling force. The cry, "Vanity of vanities," comes like a natural refrain at the close of this pathetic dirge. The allegory of the tree graphically portrays the forlorn state of the wretched Eutropius. However, the power and beauty of this grand passage are impaired by that besetting fault of Chrysostom's style, an oriental profusion of images. Seven metaphors, couched in six short clauses of parallel structure with homoioteleuta, follow one

[6] Cf. Guignet, 205 ff.

another in quick succession. This is Asiatic oratory in its highest development.

Descriptions of persons: Chrysostom, like Gregory Nazianzen,[7] seems to have been averse to descriptions of physical beauty, for he is always harping on the futility of such charms, and laying stress on beauty of the soul. His attitude towards descriptions of cities, much in vogue among the sophists, was the same, as the following passage indicates, 49, 179, 8: "When you wish to pronounce an encomium on the city, tell me not of the suburb of Daphne, nor of the height and multitude of its cypresses, nor of its fountains of waters, nor of the great population who inhabit the city, nor of the great freedom with which its market-place is frequented even to midnight, nor of the abundance of its wares! . . . . But if you are able to mention virtue, meekness etc. . . . .; commend the city for these things!" A little further on (*ib.* 22) we read: "And if you see a big man, who has been brought into good condition, tall, and surpassing others in length of limb, do not admire him, until you have ascertained what the man's soul is. Not from the outward comeliness, but from the beauty that appertains to the soul, should we pronounce any person blessed!"

But sometimes the stern preacher gives way to the sophist rhetor, as when he defines bodily beauty, 52, 412, 55: "What is beauty of body? An extended eyebrow, a merry glance, a blushing cheek, ruddy lips, a straight neck, long wavy hair, tapering fingers, upright stature, a fair blooming complexion." Later he defines what virtues go to make up beauty of soul. This definition, the details of which are dryly enumerated like a lesson of philosophy, for Chrysostom says (*ib.* 61): "Attend that you may learn the conception of philosophers," accords with the scheme of Menander, which all sophists rigidly followed in their descriptions of personal beauty.

Chrysostom's vehement denunciations of the theatre suggested descriptions like the following, a character sketch of a youth impersonating a young girl, of an old man in the role of a slave, and of shameless actresses, 57, 426, 41: "For first one, being a young man, wears his hair long behind, and changing his nature into that of a woman, is striving both in aspect and in gesture, and in garments, and generally in all ways, to pass into the likeness of a tender damsel. Then another who is grown old, in the opposite way to this, having his hair shaven, and with his loins girt about, his shame cut off before his hair, stands ready to be smitten with

[7] Cf. Guignet, 200.

the rod, prepared both to say and to do anything. The women again, their heads uncovered, stand without a blush, discoursing with a whole people, so complete is their practice in shamelessness; and thus pour forth all effrontery and impurity into the souls of their hearers. And their one study is, to pluck up all chastity from the foundations, to disgrace our nature, to satiate the desire of the wicked demon. Yea, and there are both foul sayings, and gestures yet fouler; and the dressing of the hair tends that way, and the gait, and apparel, and voice, and flexure of the limbs; and there are turnings of the eyes, and flutes, and pipes, and dramas, and plots; all things, in short, full of the most extreme impurity." This is a scathing arraignment of the loose morals of the stage. The individual sketches are complete and true to life; they are drawn from personal observation, for, as a young lawyer, Chrysostom had attended theatrical performances.[8] In his sermon *Against the Games and Theatres,* 56, 266, 37, is a short ecphrasis of a lewd dancer, and a little further on her image is sketched in a few words, *ib.* 267, 4: *τὰ ῥήματα, τὰ σχήματα, τὰ βλέμματα, ἡ βάδισις, ὁ ῥυθμὸς, ἡ διάκρισις, τὰ μέλη τὰ πορνικά.*

Description of Eutropius in Hom. I of that name, 52, 393, 21: "For who was more exalted than this man? Did he not surpass the whole world in wealth? had he not climbed to the very pinnacle of distinction? did not all tremble and fear before him? Yet lo! he has become more wretched than the prisoner, more pitiable than the menial slave, more indigent than the beggar wasting away with hunger, having every day a vision of sharpened swords and of the criminal's grave, and the public executioner leading him out to his death; and he does not even know if he once enjoyed past pleasure, nor is he sensible even of the sun's ray, but at midday his sight is dimmed as if he were encompassed by the densest gloom. . . . . But indeed, what need is there of any words from me, when he himself has clearly depicted this for us as in a visible image? For yesterday when they came to him from the royal court intending to drag him away by force, and he ran for refuge to the holy altar, his face was then, as it is now, no better than the countenance of one dead: and the chattering of his teeth, and the quaking and quivering of his whole body, and his faltering voice, and stammering tongue, and in fact his whole general appearance were suggestive of one whose soul was petrified."

[8] *On the Priesthood,* 48, 624, 26.

This is a dramatic ecphrasis of gripping realism and touching pathos. The faithful, many of whom harbored deep resentment against the culprit, were moved to tears of pity (*ib.* 395, 31). The metaphors and comparisons are abundant and give to the tableau a rich and heavy coloring. Note the two cases of hyperbole in the statements regarding Eutropius, "Did he not surpass the whole world in wealth?" and, "the man who was shaking the whole world." The remark, "what need is there of any words from me, when he himself has clearly depicted this for us as in a visible image," is of special interest as throwing light on the nature of the ecphrasis. It was the ambition of the sophists to make the ecphrasis rival a real painting in picturesqueness of detail, as well as in delicacy or boldness of shading. With this object in view, they were fond of describing works of art, paintings, statues etc., and sought to reproduce in words the striking effects of the original.[9] Chrysostom when introducing an ecphrasis often uses expressions that clearly indicate his intention to emulate the sculptor's or the painter's art, *e. g.,* leading up to his description of a storm and shipwreck on the sea, quoted above (p. 89), we read, 52, 549, 25: "καὶ εἰ βούλει, καὶ εἰκόνα ἀναπλάττω (mold, shape) τῶν γινομένων," and again, 50, 641, 34: "Recently, beloved, weaving for you the flowery garland of spring, and delineating, as it were, on the tablet of our discourse the season of the year, we showed you not only florid groves and blooming meadows and life-giving breezes etc."

The *Homilies on the Statues* contain some very dramatic descriptions of the gloom and despondency prevailing in Antioch after the overthrow of the statues of the emperor, and of the heartrending scenes occasioned by the prosecution of the guilty inhabitants. See especially 49, 35, 40; 56, 36; 136, 61; 137, 38.

Description of a battle on land and sea, 48, 689, 42: This extremely sophistic ecphrasis occurs in Book VI *On the Priesthood,* where Chrysostom explains to his friend Basil, why he shrank from becoming a bishop and a leader in the army of the Church. It is in reality the first part of a lengthy comparison illustrating the gigantic struggle of the powers of hell with the forces of Christ. Some of the details are reminiscent of the battle scenes of the *Iliad.* Descriptions of battles were in high favor with the rhetors: "Let there be an armament composed of infantry, cavalry, and marines, and let a number of triremes cover the sea,

[9] For examples in Gregory of Nyssa see Méridier, 145, and for Gregory Nazianzen, Guignet, 209.

and phalanxes of foot and horse cover most of the plains, and the ridges of the mountains, and let the metal of their armor reflect the sunshine, and the glitter of the helmets and shields be reflected by the beams which are emitted from them (*Il.* 13, 341); let the clashing of spears and the neighing of horses be borne up to the very heavens (*Il.* 12, 338), and let neither sea nor land appear, but only brass and iron in every direction. Let the enemy be drawn up in battle array opposite to these, fierce and savage men, and let the time of the engagement be now at hand. Then let some one suddenly seize some young lad, one of those brought up in the country, knowing nothing but the use of the shepherd's pipe and crook; let him be clad in brazen armor, and let him be led round the whole camp and be shown the squadrons and their officers, the archers, slingers, captains, generals, the foot and horse, the spearmen, the triremes and their commanders, the dense mass of soldiers in the ships, and the multitude of engines of war lying ready on board. Let him be shown, moreover, the whole array of the enemy, their repulsive aspect, and the varied stores and unusual quantity of their arms; the ravines also and precipices of the mountains, deep and difficult. Let him be shown further on the enemy's side, horses flying by some enchantment and infantry borne through the air, and sorcery of every power and form; and let him consider the calamities of war, the cloud of spears, the hailstorm of arrows (*Il.* 12, 156), that great mist and obscurity, that gloomiest night which the multitude of weapons occasions, eclipsing the sunbeams with their cloud, the dust (*Il.* 13, 335) no less than the darkness baffling the eyesight. The torrents of blood (*Il.* 15, 715), the groans of the fallen, the shouts of the surviving (*Il.* 4, 450), the heaps of slain, wheels bathed in blood (*Il.* 11, 534), horses with their riders thrown down headlong (*Il.* 11, 159), owing to the number of corpses, the ground a scene of general confusion, blood, and bows, and arrows, hoofs of horses and heads of men lying together, a human arm and a chariot wheel and a helmet, a breast pierced through, brains sticking to swords, the point of a dart broken off with an eye transfixed upon it. Then let him reckon up the sufferings of the naval force, the triremes burning in the midst of the waves, and sinking with their armed crews, the roaring of the sea, the tumult of the sailors, the shout of the soldiers, the foam of the waves mixed with blood, and dashing over into all the ships; the corpses on the decks, some sinking, some floating, some cast upon the beach, overwhelmed by the waves, and obstructing the passage of the ships. And when

he has been carefully instructed in all the tragedy of warfare, let the horrors of captivity and slavery be added to it, worse than any kind of death; and having told him all this, bid him mount his horse straightway, and take command of all that armament." This is an ideal sophistic ecphrasis worthy of an Aristides or a Libanius. The latter's sketch in his *Progymnasmata* is on a smaller scale and takes in the scene of a battle on land only, while Chrysostom's includes besides the spectacle of a naval engagement. Its elaborate character is emphasized by the multiplicity of details, some of which are of gruesome realism, the frequent parisa and occasional homoioteleuta, the bold image of "horses flying by some enchantment, and infantry borne through the air," and the metaphors, "cloud of spears," "the hailstorm of arrows," "that great mist . . . ., that gloomiest night which the multitude of weapons occasions, eclipsing the sunbeams with their cloud," [10] and "the torrents of blood." Note also the metaphor, "*tragedy* of warfare," a favorite expression of the sophists for scenes of a dramatic nature. It is interesting to compare with this ecphrasis of immoderate length the short one on the same theme, quoted in the chapter on comparisons (p. 79). In the latter Chrysostom has confined himself to a few meagre details, feeling, perhaps, that so lengthy a description would be out of place in a sermon.

Descriptions of scenes of martyrdom: These are very numerous in the Christian orators and writers. It was natural that, in extolling the heroism of these valiant champions of the faith, they would dwell on the details of their agonizing struggles. Chrysostom is particularly fond of such descriptions. The following is a curious example of a descriptive soliloquy put into the mouth of Satan, who is represented as dissatisfied with the results of his plots against the Christians. The passage contains a series of comparisons that exhibit the flowery exuberance of Chrysostom's style, 50, 609, 31: "I strewed red-hot coals under their feet, but they walked on them as on roses. I kindled fires, but they hurled themselves into them as into fountains of cooling water. I lacerated their sides and cut in them deep furrows and drew forth rivers of blood, but they gloried as if bathed in (liquid) gold. I cast them down precipices and drowned them in the sea, but they exulted and rejoiced as if ascending to heaven, not as going down into the deep; as if dancing in a sacred procession, and disporting on a green meadow; they snatched at tortures, not as if they were

[10] This commonplace of the rhetors is ridiculed by Lucian in his *Teacher of Rhetoric*, 18.

tortures, but as if plucking spring flowers and putting on a garland. . . . ." The exaggerated and declamatory tone of this soliloquy is a sufficient indication of its sophistic character.

This exaggeration of tone appears quite frequently in the descriptions of the tortures of the martyrs, and is sometimes combined with a gruesome realism, that is shocking to a modern reader, *e.g.*, 50, 708, 49: "For they bound them on the rack, and dug their sides, and cut deep furrows, as if plowing the earth, and not cleaving bodies in twain; and one could see flanks cut open, ribs laid bare, breasts crushed in. And not even at this point did these blood-thirsty beasts halt in their rage, but taking the bodies off the rack they stretched them upon gridirons over red-hot coals, and here was a sight more horrible than the first, double drippings issuing from the bodies, the ones of flowing blood, the others of burnt flesh. But the martyrs lay on the coals as on roses, and contemplated their tortures with delight."

The mother of the Maccabees is described as witnessing the dreadful agony of her sons in 50, 621, 31: "Let us consider what that woman must have suffered, if we may call her a woman, when she saw the fingers twitching over the red-hot coals, the head falling off, the iron hand placed upon the head of another, and stripping off the skin, and him who suffered all this still standing erect and speaking." Again, in 50, 626, 4: "When she saw one hurrying towards the seething cauldron, another to the frying-pan, and another being beheaded, she exulted as if she were arraying one in his nuptial attire, and weaving garlands for another, and spreading the nuptial couch for another. And all was filled with smoke and the odor of roasting flesh. With all her senses she perceived the trial of her children: she beheld them with her eyes, she heard their words with her ears, and with her nose perceived the odor of flesh, which was both savory and unsavory: unsavory indeed to the unbelievers, but to God and to her most sweet. . . . ."

In 50, 695, 22, the executioners are represented as wild beasts, prowling around the bodies of the martyrs, cutting open their sides, lacerating their flesh, laying bare their bones, and penetrating to their very vitals. The devil is described in the same manner in 50, 696, 22.

The sophists were fond of describing works of art, paintings, statues, etc. Chrysostom follows the fashion in an ecphrasis on the tortures of the martyrs sketched as in a painting, 50, 712, 5: "Paint on the walls of your soul the tortures of the martyrs, as

those who wish to embellish their homes decorate them with bright-colored pictures. This kind of painting is inexpensive and needs no artist. . . . . Let us paint on our soul those lying in a frying-pan, those stretched upon live coals, those thrown into a seething cauldron, those drowned in the sea; others lacerated, others stretched upon a wheel, others hurled over precipices; some fighting with wild beasts, others thrown into a yawning abyss, others losing their life in diverse ways, in order that, embellishing our house with such pictures, we may make it a suitable abode for the King of heaven. For if He sees such pictures in our soul, He will come with the Father, and take up his abode in company with the Holy Spirit, and our soul will henceforth be a kind of royal palace; no unseemly thought will enter there; whilst the memory of the martyrs, like a florid picture, will remain there always, and will emit a great splendor, etc." Note how happily and with what warmth of feeling Chrysostom draws a moral lesson in this ecphrasis.

Nothing could better illustrate Chrysostom's adaptation of pagan literary forms to the exigencies of the Christian homily than the gorgeous encomium on St. John the Evangelist which forms the introduction to *Hom.* I *on St. John,* 59, 25, and 26. Referring briefly to the enthusiastic interest of his countrymen in the spectacles of the games, the show-declamations of the sophists, and the performances of musicians, Chrysostom comes to his main subject: "And if in the case of rhetoricians, musicians, and athletes, people sit in the one case to look on, and in the other to see at once and to listen with such earnest attention; what zeal, what earnestness ought you in reason to display, when it is no musician or debater who now comes forward to a trial of skill, but when a man is speaking from heaven, and utters a voice plainer than thunder? for he has pervaded the whole earth with the sound, and occupied and filled it, not by the loudness of the cry, but by moving his tongue with the grace of God.

And what is wonderful, this sound, great as it is, is neither harsh nor an unpleasant one, but sweeter and more delightful than all harmony of music, and with more skill to soothe (θέλξαι); and besides all this, most holy and most awful, and full of mysteries great, that if men were exactly and with ready mind to receive and keep them, they could no longer be mere men, nor remain upon earth, but would take their stand above all the things of this life, and having adapted themselves to the conditions of angels, would dwell on earth just as if it were heaven.

For the son of thunder, the beloved of Christ, the pillar of the Churches throughout the world, who holds the keys of heaven, who drank the cup of Christ, and was baptized with His baptism, who lay upon his Master's bosom with much confidence, this man comes forward to us now, not as an actor of a play, not hiding his head with a mask (for he has another sort of words to speak), nor mounting a platform, nor striking the stage with his foot, nor dressed out with apparel of gold, but he enters wearing a robe of inconceivable beauty. For he will appear before us having "put on Christ,"[11] having his beautiful "feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace";[12] wearing a girdle not about his waist, but about his loins, not made of scarlet leather, nor daubed outside with gold, but woven and composed of truth itself. Now will he appear before us, not acting a part (for with him there is nothing counterfeit, nor fiction, nor fable), but with unmasked head he proclaims to us the truth unmasked; not making the audience believe him other than he is by carriage, by look, by voice, needing for the delivery of his message no instruments of music, as harp, lyre, or any other the like, for he effects all with his tongue, uttering a voice which is sweeter and more profitable than that of any harper or any music. All heaven is his stage; his theatre the habitable world; his audience, all angels; and of men as many as are angels already, or desire to become so, for none but these can hear that harmony aright, and show it forth by their works. . . . .

By this apostle stand the powers from above, marvelling at the beauty of his soul, and his understanding, and the bloom of that virtue by which he drew unto him Christ himself, and obtained the grace of the Spirit. For he has made ready his soul, as some well-fashioned and jeweled lyre with strings of gold, and yielded it for the utterance of something great and sublime to the Spirit.

The strongly sophistic color of this ecphrasis is tinctured with Scriptural metaphors and expressions. St. John is portrayed as a sophist, actor, and musician of a transcendent and supramundane type, contrasted with the ordinary type in a series of parallels, in which the details of his appearance, dress, carriage, and voice are traced with studious precision. The metaphors and comparisons drawn from the stage and from musical art emphasize the theatrical tone of the whole. The use of θέλξαι to designate the effect of St. John's preaching is notable here, for the

[11] *Rom.* XIII, 14; *Gal.* III, 27.
[12] *Eph.* VI, 15.

sophists, as far back as Thrasymachus and Gorgias, regarded κηλεῖν, θέλγειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους as the chief purpose of their art.[13] This description strikingly exemplifies the union of profane and Christian elements in Chrysostom's oratory.

We have in this chapter reviewed quite a representative collection of the types of ecphrasis which were current among the sophists. But in justice to Chrysostom we must concede that, while some of his descriptions display an abundance of graphic details hardly called for, there are others which exhibit great moderation and are justified for homiletic and apologetic reasons. Chrysostom, like Gregory Nazianzen, has transformed the futile sophistic ecphrasis, which served only for display, into a means of edification and moral instruction, notably by his descriptions of the struggles of the martyrs. This transformation is another proof of the regenerating influence of the Christian religion, which breathed a new life into the sterile and effete forms of pagan literature, by giving to its orators ideas of vital and absorbing interest in place of the frivolous and immoral themes of pagan mythology.[14]

[13] Cf. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa,* I, 7.
[14] Cf. Guignet, 210.

CONCLUSION

Our examination of the panegyrical and selected occasional sermons of St. John Chrysostom has established the fact that the rhetoric of the second sophistic has exerted a profound influence on his oratory. We have traced this influence in his liberal use of certain minor rhetorical figures, chief among which are alliteration, paronomasia, and paradox; in his great fondness for clauses of parallel structure, some of which are antithetical and enhanced by the poetical element of the homoioteleuton; in his immoderate redundance of metaphors, his preference for metaphors of established profane origin, and in the labored ingenuity, the exaggerated, theatrical, and extravagant tone of others; in his comparisons, many of which are far-fetched, bizarre, puerile, hyperbolical and paradoxical, drawn chiefly from profane sources, heaped up at times in excessive profusion, and pursued with studied artificiality into the minutest details. Only in regard to the ecphrasis have we found Chrysostom less strongly influenced by profane rhetoric. Although he reproduces some of the favorite types of the ecphrasis, the latter is not exclusively a means of embellishment with Chrysostom. On the contrary, he generally employs it with a practical view of edification or moral instruction.

Some modern critics seem to minimize too strongly the influence of the sophistic rhetoric on Chrysostom. Thus L. Ackermann[1] makes the strange statement: "Der hl. Johannes Chrysostomus spricht in dem Stile des hl. Paulus. . . . . Der griechische Stil ist zur Zeit des Heiligen lange nicht mehr rein und natürlich gewesen. Selbst Libanius, der berühmteste Rhetoriker damaliger Zeit, hat sich nicht dem Einflusse des schlechten Geschmackes entziehen können. Aber Chrysostomus hielt sich davon frei, sagt Cramer. . . . .[2] Manirirtheit aber findet sich bei Chrysostomus nicht. . . . ."

U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff makes the sweeping assertion:[3] "In den grossen Reden, ... schwellen die wohllautenden Perioden an, reicher wird der Schmuck, aber nirgend etwas

[1] *Die Beredsamkeit des hl. Johannes Chrysostomus*, 99.
[2] *Des hl. Kirchenlehrers Johannes Chrysostomus Predigten*, verbessert von P. Vital Mösl, 10 Bände, 2 Aufl., Augsburg 1782, Vorrede zum 2. Bd.
[3] *Kultur der Gegenwart*, Teil I, Abt. VIII, 214.

von dem Geklapper der Reime oder Kadenzen, nur ganz sparsam die Rede, welche Leidenschaft weckt, wohl aber die überlegene Kunst dessen, der die Seele nicht uberrumpeln oder faszinieren, sondern Kopf und Herz zugleich gewinnen will."

O. Bardenhewer[4] minimizes the sophistic influence in Chrysostom: "So gewiss er nicht umsonst die Schule dex Libanius besucht hat, so wird man doch nur aus seiner Anfängerzeit vielleicht einzelne Predigten vorweisen können, in denen der Sophistenzögling das Wort führt und sein Repertoire an Tropen und Figuren ausbreitet, während in der Folge der Rhetor bescheiden hinter den Prediger zurücktritt, und sich lediglich bestrebt zeigt, die Zwecke des letzteren zu fördern."

These statements, it would seem to us, are too sweeping, and deserve to be modified or corrected, at least as regards the panegyrical sermons. Chrysostom is often prodigal of rhetorical ornament, he is not free from the bad taste and the mannerisms of the sophistic rhetoric, there is abundant evidence of the jingle of rhyme, and monotonous parallelism of structure, and these traits appear not only in his earlier efforts, but also in his later sermons.

All this does not quite harmonize with Chrysostom's own homiletic theories, which we have discussed in our second chapter (p. 25 ff.). We have seen him severely denouncing those preachers who busied themselves about the harmony and composition of their periods, and who strove to entertain their audience by a show of eloquence. There can be no doubt that Chrysostom himself is at times guilty of the very faults which he censures in others. Are we justified then in accusing him of insincerity? By no means. His irreproachable, stainless character, his exalted conception of the dignity of the Christian preacher's office, place him above all suspicion of insincerity. In fairness to him we must concede that, generally, he is true to his principles, but that, when he violates them, he does so unconsciously. The mannerisms of profane rhetoric had become, as it were, his second nature, so that, while he strove to avoid the grosser excesses of the oratory of show and display, he could not altogether eradicate intellectual habits that were deep-rooted and of long standing. This may be regrettable, but it is only the natural and logical result of his education and environment.

Yet it is a great satisfaction to know that Chrysostom's rhetorical defects are overborne by his excellences. Though strongly

[4] *Geschichte der Altkirchlichen Literatur,* Bd. III, 353.

influenced by the profane rhetoric, that influence is never oppressive as in the pagan sophists, nor even as powerful as in Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory Nazianzen. His sermons by no means reveal that preponderance of form over matter which is so deplorable in the sophists, notably in his teacher Libanius. Beneath the artistic, and sometimes artificial garb of his style, there is a rich fund of intensely vital and practical, lofty and grand ideas, worthy of the sublime doctrines which he propounds.

In no way then do we regard it as a misfortune that Chrysostom proclaimed the simple truths of Christianity in the polished language of profane rhetoric, nor do we wish that he had rather chosen the plain and unadorned style of the first preachers of the Gospel. Such a course would have been altogether unsuited to the needs and exigencies of the times. The refined and cultured audiences of Antioch and Constantinople would have ignored a preacher whose exposition of doctrine was devoid of the graces and embellishments of language which they prized so highly. The heretics and infidels, who were either to be refuted or won over to the truth, would have scorned and ridiculed him. He would have done a poor service to the religion whose foremost champion divine Providence had destined him to be.

Thus we see in Chrysostom's oratory the profane and the sacred element blended in harmonious union. Despite his occasional bitter attacks on pagan writers, Chrysostom stands forth in theory and in practice as one of the foremost advocates of a compromise between Hellenism and Christianity; a compromise to which Origen has given such admirable expression:[5] "Unde et nos si forte aliquando invenimus aliquid sapienter a gentilibus dictum, non continuo cum auctoris nomine spernere debemus et dicta, nec pro eo, quod legem a deo datam tenemus, convenit nos tumere superbia et spernere verba prudentium, sed sicut apostolus dicit: 'omnia probantes, quod bonum est tenentes' (ad Thessal. I, 5, 21)." Chrysostom is indeed, as Villemain styles him, "par excellence le Grec devenu chrétien," he is in the words of the same writer: "Le plus grand orateur de l'Église primitive, le plus vivant témoin de cette mémorable époque."[6]

[5] *In Exod. hom.* XI, 6, M. 12, 380.
[6] *De l'éloquence chrétienne dans le quatrième siècle,* 351.

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